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INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

Y 4. IN 8/16: B 78/3

International Broadcasting, Hearing... **ARING**

BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN RIGHTS
OF THE
COMMITTEE ON
INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
ONE HUNDRED FOURTH CONGRESS

SECOND SESSION

JULY 9, 1996

Printed for the use of the Committee on International Relations



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INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING

TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1996

HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS,
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN
RIGHTS,
Washington, DC.

The subcommittee met, pursuant to call, at 2 p.m. in room 2172, Rayburn House Office Building, Washington, DC, Hon. Christopher H. Smith (chairman of the subcommittee) presiding.

Mr. SMITH. The subcommittee will come to order. I am pleased to convene this hearing on international broadcasting activities of the United States. Our international broadcasting services were first initiated in 1942, when the Voice of America was established to counteract Nazi propaganda. With the end of World War II and the establishment of the Iron Curtain, these services were expanded and intensified with the establishment of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

More recently, Congress has authorized the establishment of Radio and TV Marti and Radio Free Asia. The purpose and effect of our broadcasting services during their first 50 years was summed up by Lech Walesa. "Where would the earth be," he asked, "without the sun?"

Clearly, these broadcasts have brought light and hope to many people who have endured the cruelty of dictatorships. During the last several years, it has been argued that our broadcasting services have done their job so well that they are no longer needed. This argument assumes that the great battle of the 20th century, the long struggle for the soul of the world, is over. That the forces of freedom and democracy have won.

The argument is terribly short-sighted. It ignores the people of China and Cuba, of Vietnam and Burma, of Iraq and Iran and Nigeria and North Korea. It ignores the fragility of freedom and the difficulty of building and keeping democracy, and it ignores the resilience of evil.

So, the world still needs robust, pro-freedom broadcasting, a beacon to which the enslaved peoples of the world can look for the continued transmission of the ideas and values the whole world associates with the United States and with which we can also defend these ideas and values to peoples who may be tempted to discard them. The drastic cuts already absorbed by our broadcasting services have gone far enough, perhaps too far. The overall reduction in our international broadcasting budget has been over 25 percent

in just 2 years, from \$487 million in Fiscal Year (FY) 1994 to \$363 million in FY 1996.

These cuts have been taken primarily by Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty, which had a budget of about \$225 million in FY 1994 and only \$71 million in FY 1996, a reduction of over 65 percent. By comparison, the much larger budget of the State Department was reduced by less than 1 percent during the same period, from \$2.698 billion in 1994 to \$2.674 billion in 1996.

If the United States is to continue to be a force for good in the world, it is not enough that we continue to just support our diplomats and embassies overseas. We must also continue to commit resources to the proposition that values matter and that ideas have consequences.

If those of us in Congress who support international broadcasting are to convince our colleagues, however, we must be able to show them that our broadcasting services really do promote American values and ideas. In the case of our surrogate broadcasting services directed at countries whose people do not enjoy freedom of information, this means providing a forum for the news and opinions to which their governments have denied them access. The successful experience of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty teaches us that the best way to do this is to rely heavily, although not exclusively, on journalists who are themselves exiled pro-freedom and pro-democracy dissidents from the countries we are trying to reach.

Even in the case of Voice of America, which is not a surrogate broadcast service, we must be able to show that a service is being provided which is distinct from local broadcasts and from international commercial services, and that this distinction is important to the preservation of freedom in the world.

If Congress and the American people see no difference between the Voice of America and CNN or between Radio Free Europe and National Public Radio, we will not be able to count on their support.

Speaking as a strong supporter of our international broadcasting efforts, let me suggest several tangible steps that would strengthen public and congressional support. First, in the complicated world that has succeeded the cold war, USIA and the board must convince Congress and the American people that our broadcasting efforts are both independent and effective. On the one hand, it is important that our tax dollars not pay for information services that are so independent that they are of little or no value in promoting American ideals and ideas and perspectives. This problem may be particularly acute in former Communist countries, where we find ourselves relying on local journalists who may once have worked for the official organs of the old regimes.

On the other hand, USIA and the board must remember that the values of the United States—that is, the values of the free world—will not be served by requiring our broadcast services to march in lockstep with particular short-term diplomatic or economic objectives.

Second, USIA and the board should quickly implement the congressional mandate to move Radio and TV Marti to South Florida. The purpose of this move is to get these operations as near as humanly possible to the problem and the audience that they are in-

tended to address. This has been the tradition with all of our surrogate broadcasting operations, from the very first days of Radio Free Europe, which was run first from Munich and now from Prague, and it is a tradition that makes sense.

The perspective from inside the beltway may have its value, but it is not necessarily the perspective of the Cuban people that they need to hear. The strength of surrogate broadcasting is that it affords people who are living in slavery a chance for direct communication with a community that is different, but not too different, the community of their countrymen who have managed to find freedom, and for whom the freedom of the home country is a dream that will not die.

Finally, we must call things by their right names. We can begin with Radio Free Asia. This is the name that Congress chose for a new and badly needed surrogate broadcasting service and the name that is specifically provided for by law. I think it is fair to say that most of Radio Free Asia's strongest supporters were shocked and disappointed by the announcement that the name would be changed to Asia Pacific Network.

If USIA or the Board of Broadcasting Governors thinks it is important to keep this name for the corporation that runs the service so as to make clear that it can provide television and multimedia broadcasts as well as radio, we will not object. But when radio broadcasts do begin and we trust that this will be before the end of this summer, as set forth in today's testimony, we must have the courage to confront tyranny, and to do so under the banner of freedom.

I look forward to the statements by our distinguished witnesses. I just want to note for the record that the ranking member, Tom Lantos, wanted to be here. His full statement will be made a part of the record. He is en route, I understand, from California. Regrettably, they called off votes for today, so some members may not be able to attend.

Mr. Gilman, the chairman of the full committee, will be here shortly and Mr. Funderburk, if you would like to make an opening statement? Then, if that be the case, I would like to introduce our very distinguished panel and ask them if they would give their opening testimony.

First of all, let me invite Dr. Joseph Duffey, who was appointed director of the United States Information Agency by President Clinton in April 1993. Prior to joining USIA, Dr. Duffey served as president of the American University, where he also held a professorship in sociology. Dr. Duffey served as Assistant Secretary of State for Educational and Cultural Affairs and chaired the National Endowment for the Humanities during the Carter and the Reagan administrations.

Geoffrey Cowan was appointed director of the Voice of America by President Clinton in March 1994. For the past 20 years, he has taught communications law and policy at UCLA and was most recently named director of USC's Center for Communication. He is a graduate of Harvard College and Yale Law School.

David Burke is the chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. Mr. Burke has served in various positions in government and the private sector, including as vice president and executive

vice president of ABC News and president of CBS News. He is a graduate of Tufts University and received his MBA from the University of Chicago.

Kevin Klose is the president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. He was previously director of Radio Liberty, which he joined in September 1992, after a 25 year career with The Washington Post. He also co-authored and authored several books.

Richard Richter is the president of Asia Pacific Network, which we still like to call Radio Free Asia. He has had a long career in television news and documentaries. Mr. Richter has worked for WETA, the PBS station in Washington, and has held various positions at ABC and CBS News. Mr. Richter received a B.A. in English from Queens College in New York.

I would also like to note and welcome to the witness table Cheryl Halpern, a distinguished New Jersian and one of the governors for the Broadcasting Board. I had the very distinct privilege when we were at the Women's Conference in Beijing of actually swearing in Ms. Halpern. So, welcome and any comments you would like to make, as well, would be very much favorably received by the subcommittee.

I would like to ask Dr. Duffey to begin. Again, welcome back to the subcommittee. It was only a couple of weeks ago that we heard from you last.

**STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JOSEPH DUFFEY,
DIRECTOR, UNITED STATE INFORMATION AGENCY**

Dr. DUFFEY. Mr. Chairman, this is the second time in several weeks that you have taken the time and interest to hold hearings on aspects of public diplomacy, exchanges and broadcasting, that have not received, I think, the attention and concern and study that they deserve. I want to begin by thanking you for that opportunity and for taking time in a busy schedule to learn more about these two important programs.

My remarks will be very brief. You will hear today from several distinguished colleagues. David Burke and Cheryl Halpern of the Broadcasting Board of Governors, Geoff Cowan, director of International Broadcasting Bureau, Richard Richter, the president of the newly formed Asia Pacific Network, and Kevin Klose, here from Prague, the president of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

The Broadcasting Board of Governors exercises by law primary oversight over these activities. Mr. Burke will carry the burden of this presentation, but I would like to say something at the beginning about the role of broadcasting today with respect to our international relations, and the way in which my colleagues and I approach our responsibility for it.

The history of the 20th century shows clearly that broadcasting is a medium of tremendous power for both good and evil and of incalculable consequence. Broadcasting to the world is a part of a U.S. Government-funded operation and on behalf of our official foreign relations policy, makes this responsibility even more sobering today than in the past.

The mission of broadcasting in a world that has, in many ways, been made new by political, social and technological change, is one which we together take very seriously. We know that we must ex-

plore the restrictions, the demands and the opportunities of this new era.

I remember that Edward R. Murrow, one of my predecessors, offered an admonition once to his colleagues in USIA. He said, "Just because you can speak in a voice loud enough to be heard over radio or television by 16 million people doesn't make you any smarter than you were when you spoke loudly enough only to be heard at the end of the bar."

I want to pay tribute to my colleagues at this table as well as to all the men and women who worked so ably with them for their achievements and their accomplishments, particularly in recent years. We have behind us now the consolidation of international broadcasting, carried off with no disruption in service and at great savings to the American taxpayer.

Kevin Klose deserves especially major credit, now that RFE/RL is successfully operating in Prague, a move that was accomplished on time and under budget. These are difficult times in which to conduct these important programs, even as our country seeks to bring its deficit under control.

The Voice of America has made numerous innovations in programming and reaching into areas where news reporting is restricted by governments and long cultural traditions, trying to diffuse crisis, adding global call-in shows and live television simulcasts, and seeking and participating in new creative and effective broadcasting cooperation with the private sector. Geoff Cowan has thus continued and indeed, enlivened the leadership tradition of the Voice of America by exploring and implementing new opportunities in a number of areas. All of this has been done, needless to say, with less and less money.

But, precisely because resources are scarce and because we are stewards of a powerful news and foreign affairs instrument, we must be clear about the potential of broadcasting as well as its limitations. For spreading news and information to a global audience, broadcasting has no equal. No other medium can disseminate so rapidly information about America and Americans to millions of people around the world. Radio and television today increasingly, through satellite and digital communication, can leap borders, often evade jammers and bring accurate reporting about the world to men and women whose own governments often deny them such knowledge.

In the right hands, broadcasting can counter hate programming of stations that are in the wrong hands. Broadcasting can and does inform and assist in humanitarian crisis. Broadcasting, like any other single instrument in diplomacy or public diplomacy, is not a panacea. Budgets do not permit and the American interest does not require that we blanket the world with continuous broadcasts. Nor is more broadcasting necessarily the answer to many of the troubles that will arise.

There are no hard and fast universal rules to tell us what to broadcast, when and where. But, I believe as Chairman David Burke has said on several occasions, perhaps reflecting his Massachusetts pragmatism, these are issues and decisions that have to be lived out in the everyday work of serving the mandates of leaders in the Congress and the executive branch of the government.

So, men and women of good will, protective of the credibility of our broadcast services, asking difficult questions about our audiences and demographics and something extraordinarily difficult to measure, and always mindful of the good of our nation, work on these issues, every day.

Let me conclude with a brief comment about the state of the relationship between the senior officials of USIA, the Broadcasting Board of Governors and the management of the International Broadcasting Bureau. The International Broadcasting Act of 1994 was, to say the least, less than precise about the relationship between the director of USIA and the chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. Many have spoken, including myself, of this murkiness. But, it may turn out to actually not have been such a bad thing after all, because it has required us to come together and thrash out central and important issues which we are still exploring and working on, of the relationship, such as the independence of journalists, and yet the need to reflect the priorities of the American national interest and American foreign policy.

These are complex and perplexing issues. Mr. Chairman, I believe, however, that so far, with candor and good faith exchanges, we have done a pretty good job of making the relationship work and I look forward to continuing on that path. Thank you for your attention. I look forward to answering any questions you may have.

[The prepared statement of Dr. Duffey appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you, Dr. Duffey, for your fine statement. Your full statement will be made a part of the record.

I would like to ask Mr. Burke if he would proceed.

STATEMENT OF DAVID BURKE, CHAIRMAN, BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS, U.S. INFORMATION AGENCY

Mr. BURKE. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman. I have submitted a full statement for the record and I do not plan to take a great deal of your time, so we can get to the questions here, especially after hearing your opening statement.

I believe we are in a forum where we share much of the same values and we will have an interesting discussion about any nuances that may exist between us. I also wish to thank Director Duffey for his eloquent opening statement and very generous thoughts.

Also, I have had opportunities in the private sector, as you know, to work in various news organizations and I do not think that I fully expected to have this opportunity to participate in activities here in Washington where I would have the good fortune to be associated with gentlemen like those here on my right, Mr. Cowan, Mr. Klose and this director. They are just the finest in their giving of themselves to public service, and they do it with a deep level of commitment.

Having said that, let me, using Cheryl Halpern here as an example, tell you something about the Board of Governors that Congress in its wisdom created in 1994. It is a bipartisan board, as you know, and there are four Republicans and there are four Democrats on this board. The director of the USIA also sits as a voting member.

I think it is fair to say and I think Cheryl would confirm, that we are a rather unusual board because it is truly bipartisan. We may have differences of opinion, but no other things have driven us apart. We work very, very closely together and we share as well. We truly believe that there is no such thing as a democracy without an informed public. We think that without democracy there is no possible way that the God-given dignity and integrity of every individual will be recognized. So, we believe that what we do is a very important act, and that is why the eight members of this board, who are private citizens, can remain private citizens, because Congress wanted it that way and I think it wise.

We give our time, and we spend endless time in our work and in dealing with the staff. I think over the last 8 or 9 months of our existence, we have made some success and you have known some of the successes that the agency has gone through in consolidation and the like. I am delighted to hear you reached the conclusion that the broadcasting entities in this country have perhaps consolidated to the point where their efficiency is present and perhaps cannot be bettered. I believe any further would simply be punishment.

I also agree with you, since the one thing we do not have, again because of the public policy that prevails, is a constituency in this country. No one in this country can listen to the Voice of America. No one in this country really knows the work of RFE/RL. No one in this country will know the work of Asia Pacific Network or the Radio Free Asia.

Without a constituency, you are quite right that we have an obligation to convince the Congress, and with like thinking Members of Congress, we have an obligation to make the best possible case that we can make as to why they're so vitally important that the role of international broadcasting and the public diplomacy of the United States be maintained and strengthened and indeed, bettered, in very ingenious ways. We take that as a serious responsibility that we have.

Nothing was more disheartening to us during the recent budget fights that revolved, and I am not complaining about it, but nothing was more disheartening than hearing the kinds of comments that we heard and I must confess, it was mainly in the other body, about how can it be that we are still broadcasting to people overseas and killing Big Bird at home?

The difficulty with that statement is that it shows the depth of misunderstanding about the role of public broadcasting, international broadcasting and public diplomacy. The depth of that, it can be very dangerous to the best interest, we believe, of the United States and the citizens of the United States. So, we are committed, the eight members, and I can speak for all of them, that we will continue to work in a bipartisan way. We will come to Washington as often as we have to, and we will do everything we can in cooperation with you and other Members of the Congress of the United States to maintain what we think is a very important part of American public life. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Burke appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Burke, thank you very much. Your full statement will be made a part of the record, and I appreciate your comments.

Ms. Halpern, would you want to comment?

STATEMENT OF CHERYL HALPERN, MEMBER, BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS

Ms. HALPERN. Clearly, I concur with everything that David has just given in testimony, but let me add that ignorance is the breeding ground of instability and brutality. That the free flow of information is essential in the battle to address ignorance and that it is in the best interests of U.S. foreign policy to continue broadcasting.

It represents additionally a sound economic value for the American taxpayer.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you for that very succinct and very powerful statement.

I would like to ask Mr. Cowan if you would make your presentation?

STATEMENT OF GEOFFREY COWAN, DIRECTOR, VOICE OF AMERICA AND DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BUREAU

Mr. COWAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman, Congressman Funderburk, other members of the committee, for the opportunity to participate in these hearings on this extremely important topic. With your permission, I will submit my full testimony for the record.

For me, this is a particularly important occasion, because I am going to be leaving government service in a couple of months, so I welcome this chance to share with you some of my observations after spending 2 years and more as the director of the Voice of America and now for 6 months, also being the director of the International Broadcasting Bureau.

As your opening statement, Mr. Chairman, says so eloquently, international broadcasting is an invaluable national asset. I think it is fair to say that it helped to win World War II and it also helped to win the cold war, with the efforts of Voice of America and RFE/RL. But, I do not think that international broadcasting today should be supported because of what it did in the past.

I think the question that taxpayers have every right to ask is what is it doing for us today? What will it do for us tomorrow?

What we have done in the past couple of years, I think, is to establish the fact that international broadcasting is, in some respects, more important than ever before. We have made, as you said in your opening statement, drastic cuts in the budget. We have consolidated all of our engineering functions and we have shifted many of our priorities with a greater focus on East Asia, the Middle East and on Africa. Democratic ideals and accurate credible information remain a vital commodity in much of the world today, and I want to just add some ammunition in the way of examples to the points that you made in your opening statement.

Our importance is perhaps best illustrated by our role in combating international terrorism. As Shimon Peres noted 2 years ago, international broadcasting, led by the Voice of America, he said, can be the most important tool in the effort to block the advance of international terrorism, since such terrorism rests in large meas-

ure on the propagandistic misinformation about America and the West. One exceptionally important instrument in America's war against terrorism went into operation 2 months ago—a 600 kilowatt medium wave AM transmitter in Kuwait. With 12 times the power of the strongest station inside the United States, it is a powerful force in Iraq and Iran, where VOA's Arabic and Farsi services already have very large audiences.

To pick one example from the headlines, the Voice of America has the unique capacity to help American law enforcement authorities track down terrorists. Because we have a worldwide mission and communicate with people in their own languages, we can reach possible sources of information in every corner of the globe. We are broadcasting a special editorial this week on the effort to find those who killed our troops in Saudi Arabia last month.

This is part of our work to publicize the State Department's counter-terrorism rewards program. Working with the Justice Department, we will soon begin a new program that will identify major international fugitives wanted by the United States.

To take another area, consider our role in promoting democracy and human rights in China. None of what I want to say in support of what we do takes away from the importance of the new enterprise that Mr. Richter will be heading. Thanks to years of hard work and accurate reporting, VOA has built up the largest audience of any international broadcaster in China, including the BBC. We get literally thousands of letters every month that testify to our importance in China. Many are inspirational, describing the ways that the VOA is teaching listeners and educating them about such subjects as medicine, while keeping alive their faith and belief in democracy and human rights.

One of the most poignant such letters, Mr. Chairman, was sent to you. We learned about it because you sent out a Dear Colleague letter in which you quoted it, and with your permission, I would like to quote a part of it now. This was sent by a woman in China and you withheld her name in distributing this letter, because who knows what the consequences would have been.

Here is what she said, to quote a part of it. "I heard a report on VOA about your concern—" that is your concern, Mr. Chairman, "...about your concern over China's cruel policy of forced abortion. As a Chinese woman who had just been forced to have an abortion at that time, I really agree with you. If we don't have the right even to give birth to a baby, what's the use of any other rights?"

As you know, Mr. Chairman, we cover virtually all human rights hearings, by this and other congressional committees. They are of great importance to the world in English, in Chinese, Vietnamese, Farsi and other languages that we broadcast them in.

To take the example of Bosnia, in 2 months, the people of Bosnia will hold an election. But, as the members of this committee are well aware, the Bosnian media are, for the most part, controlled by political factions. Equally important, 840,000 potential voters, possibly one half of the total, are now refugees living outside of Bosnia. Hundreds of thousands are in Germany and in Scandinavia. It is important that they vote, but how are they going to learn about election procedures, the issues, the candidates?

Again, international broadcasting, and in this case, I am speaking of VOA, WORLDNET and RFE/RL, have a vital and unique ability to reach these people in the languages they understand and through radio and television signals that can reach refugees everywhere in the world.

I would cite, too, our role in deterring illegal immigration. The San Diego Union recently called VOA and WORLDNET programs, along with increased border patrols, the single best U.S. weapon against illegal immigration.

Or in Cuba, where the importance of Radio Marti as the primary source of truthful news, has increased dramatically in the last few months, since Castro's crackdown on human rights groups, political dissidence and the press.

Or our role in Central Africa, where human rights groups say that our broadcasts to Rwanda and Burundi have actually saved lives.

I could give you dozens of similar examples, from Russia to Nigeria to Korea, of the ways in which USG-funded international broadcasting is helping people prevent violence and learn about the value and the ways to build democratic institutions and free markets.

For 50 years, as you suggested, we have been a beacon to the world, a voice that promises people everywhere that wherever they live, whatever language they speak, that there are people who care, and there are ways for them to build a better future.

In my view, we are one of the best investments that this committee and this country can make in the future of America and the world. President Clinton has often stressed the importance of VOA, which he says serves on the front lines of democracy all around the world, from Burma to the Balkans.

The President's proposed FY 1997 budget is an effort to keep us going without further reductions. Even so, it represents, as you mentioned, a cut of more than 25 percent from FY 1994. We play an invaluable role. There is no way that private organizations can do what we do in China, Iran, Bosnia or Africa, and if we go away, we will not be replaced.

Since this is a non-partisan issue, let me quote from a speech that former Senator Bob Dole delivered 10 days ago. He said the world remains a dangerous place and while the United States cannot be the world's policeman, he said, "We can't just turn off the porch light."

Members of this committee, as I prepare to leave this institution, I want to leave you with a thought that for millions and millions around the world, the Voice of America is this country's porch light, and yes, its beacon. We have already turned down the voltage. I implore you not to turn it down any further. Thank you.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Cowan appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Cowan. I fully concur with your comments and I appreciate you bringing up that case, because I was kind of surprised myself when all of a sudden a letter showed up from a woman deep inside of China.

But, it does show that, for every one who never writes or even thinks of writing, there are tens of thousands who hear the message and are given open encouragement. So, I think your comments

were very well taken, and I appreciate your good service on behalf of our values for so many years.

Mr. COWAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SMITH. When will you be leaving?

Mr. COWAN. By January.

Mr. SMITH. Well, thank you.

Mr. COWAN. Thank you, sir.

Mr. SMITH. I would like to ask Mr. Klose if you would make your presentation.

STATEMENT OF KEVIN KLOSE, PRESIDENT, RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

Mr. KLOSE. Mr. Chairman, thank you very much. Members of the committee, thank you for the opportunity to participate in these hearings. With your permission, I would ask that my full testimony be submitted for inclusion in the record of this hearing.

Mr. SMITH. Without objection, yours and all other witnesses will have their full statements made a part of the record.

Mr. KLOSE. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. Mr. Chairman, I would like to offer the committee today some recent examples of how Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty achieve the objectives of our mission to provide accurate, objective and open communication of the ideals and ideas of democracy to listeners in a strategically vital part of the world in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

Millions of our daily listeners rely on Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, as well as Voice of America and others, to assist them in the complex, difficult effort to found stable, democratic, free market societies on the wreckage of a totalitarian Communist empire. We serve this region in a unique way. We have 18 news bureaus across the area from Central Europe and as far east as Uzbekistan. These facilities are linked by satellite, telephone, computer, fax and E-mail ties to our broadcast center in Prague and onward to Washington and provide RFE/RL remarkable contact and relevance, adding strength and context to our broadcast services.

They also provide a unique means to assist democracy and civil societies throughout the region. I would like to supply an example of how Radio Liberty's Byelorussian service, the only foreign external service to Belarus, performed this function on behalf of the mission and the goals, the broad goals of U.S. foreign policy, which are to assist in building democratic institutions and to achieve stable civil societies in countries where defense of human rights and individual human liberties have not been part of the recent history.

In Belarus some months ago, the President of the country sought to suppress parliamentary elections in the hope that by a low voter turnout, the parliamentary elections themselves would be disqualified, and therefore, the Parliament could be annulled and he would be able to rule without challenge from the Parliament.

The chairman of the Parliament went to Byelorussian national media and asked for permission to issue a non-partisan statement, simply a "get out and vote", "please come to the polls" and "vote any way you wish" statement. He was turned aside by the national media.

He went to Russian national media outlets, which have offices in Minsk and was also turned aside, and finally, perhaps to his own surprise, he found himself coming to the office of Radio Liberty's Byelorussian service in Minsk, knocked on the door and asked if we would put his appeal for voter turnout on our airwaves. Not only did we do that in our Byelorussian service, we repeated his appeals in our Ukrainian, Slovak, Polish and Russian services, thus blanketing the country with a non-partisan appeal for citizens to exercise their rights and responsibilities as they sought to found democratic institutions in the country.

I am pleased to say today that there is a sitting Parliament in Belarus. The working out of the future democratic principles of Belarus, a country which has a very difficult future in front of it, has been assisted, in my view, by the active reality that Radio Liberty's Minsk office allowed this man to reach out to voters. We put him on the air when no one else would.

In the Russian service of Radio Liberty, coverage of the Chechnya War from the beginning was edited from the point of view and the conviction that the war, in and of itself, was a violation of international humanitarian accords. From the beginning, we have examined, as no other service that Russia has, the racial and nationalist roots of the conflict.

This has allowed us to speak with unique authority to all sides and to provide a common ground for exchange of views in unique ways, and we have had Chechnyan fighters and Russian activists exchanging views on the air in civil dialog, so that their views can be aired and that citizens may hear the roots of the conflict expressed not by gun, but by the voice and by a civil dialog. We feel that is a service in helping people understand what the issues are and reaching conclusions as to how that conflict could be resolved.

During the recent Russian elections, Radio Liberty's Moscow Bureau routinely broadcast interviews and comments by virtually every major candidate. We did not concentrate on any single candidate. We felt that subjecting all the candidates to the kind of scrutiny that candidates in western societies have, from tough questioning by local reporters, international reporters and foreign experts, was the best way for the citizenry to reach their own independent judgments in search of how to step forward in the reforms necessary in Russia, to lead it toward and to establish a stable, civil democracy there.

Our so-called South Slavic Service, which is our service to Bosnia and that region, has only been on the air for 2½ years. This is a linguistically integrated service with Serbian, Croatian, and Bosnian spoken within the broadcast service on the air at any particular time without being prescheduled. This has allowed us, again, to achieve a kind of common ground. We run in this service a bridges program that allows, for example, the mayors of East Mostar and West Mostar, speaking different languages, to speak to each other across the shattered remains of the bridges that used to tie the city together, and allow them to speak to each other with the public listening, in a bridge that runs from one side of the river through Prague and our broadcast center to the other side of the river, barely 75 yards away physically, but a war away in terms of human understanding and contact. The bridges program is an

example of the outreach that we can bring to America's efforts to achieve stability and peace and civil societies in a unique way, because the bureaus give us a kind of contact and context that is relevant to the region and unique to Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.

In Bulgaria recently, the Democratic opposition which, as you know, has fissured and split apart into many separate factions, was facing a primary to choose a Presidential candidate. Our Bulgarian service put the two leading candidates on the air for substantial question and answer periods, 2 hours at a time. This allowed people voting in the primary election to discern differences between the candidates, and we believe there was a substantial vote for one of the candidates, and we believe this has allowed the Democratic opposition to overcome some of the fractures and tensions within its own coalitions and to come together and coalesce around a single candidate in this fashion, stabilizing Democratic processes in Bulgaria in a unique way.

Finally, sir, reaching further east, we have recently opened a bureau in Uzbekistan, in Tashkent. Uzbekistan is one of the many nations to which we broadcast where press freedom does not exist, as recently attested to by Freedom House's 1996 review of media freedoms throughout the world.

However, our news bureau to me resembles the news bureau that I used to operate in Moscow. It exists in a foreign compound behind guarded gates and fenced off from the normal populace, but our bureau in Tashkent, I believe, has the capacity and as so many bureaus do in such places, will fulfill the role of a candle in the darkness. Uzbek citizens will find their way, will find the means to achieve entry to that bureau. Our freelance correspondents there fully understand and share the commitment of Radio Liberty's Uzbek service to putting many points of view on the air, to allow listeners to hear dissenting opinion, as well as opinions in defense of the government's policies. That bureau will serve as a beacon in the future of Uzbekistan as they struggle toward a more open and more civil society.

This is the way that Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe we believe, achieve results that are unique to the services and are in fulfillment of the general mission that is our burden and our responsibility to the U.S. taxpayers. Thank you very much.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Klose appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Klose. I would like to recognize the distinguished chairman of the full committee, Mr. Gilman.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I want to thank you for conducting these oversight hearings on international broadcasting. We all recognize that broadcasting continues to play an important role in our overseas diplomacy and ensuring democracy around the world.

I want to commend our international broadcasting people for the real progress that has been made in the consolidation of international broadcasting. Those who have been working on this for the past two or more years are to be complimented. I am encouraged by the trend toward increased placement of programs with affiliate stations, which should increase audience reach.

What lies ahead is the need to fully launch Radio Free Asia's vision by the Congress, to continue to find more cost-effective ways to manage broadcasting, to ensure the editorial and quality control of all broadcasts on a systematic basis and to pursue privatization of these activities wherever possible.

Last, there is congressional support for international broadcasting, but the system does need to be flexible to respond to international events. I hope the Administration will be open to working with the Congress as these circumstances arise and I look forward to our further discussions today. Thank you, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Gilman. I would like to ask Mr. Richter if you could present your testimony.

STATEMENT OF RICHARD RICHTER, PRESIDENT, ASIA PACIFIC NETWORK

Mr. RICHTER. Thank you, Chairman Smith, Chairman Gilman, Mr. Funderburk. I am honored to be invited to appear here today and pleased to be able to tell you that the Asia Pacific Network is about to give birth to an exciting broadcast schedule, which is designed to fulfill a mandate that you and Congress have given us.

First, I would like to share an incident with you that occurred about 2 months ago. A young Chinese man came to visit me at my office. He had been in this country only 10 days, having fled China after his release from prison. He was one of the leaders of the democracy movement that was brutally crushed at Tiananmen Square. He told me that even after he had been freed by the Chinese Government, he had been harassed, his life threatened. Then, he asked, where have you been? The Chinese people have been waiting for your broadcasts.

So, where have we been, what are we doing, when will we start broadcasting? First, we have been in existence less than 4 months. We were incorporated in March of this year. I officially started working the next day, APN's only employee. Our office was and still is a modest space at 1201 Connecticut Avenue, which we rent from Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Now, after an exhaustive survey of available real estate, we have settled on a permanent home at 2025 M Street, National Public Radio's former headquarters. We expect to move there in early October.

Our newest employee, our seventeenth, started yesterday. He is our vice president of programming and executive editor, Dan Southerland, formerly of The Washington Post. He spent 18 years as a correspondent in Asia and is recognized as one of America's most authoritative reporters on Asian affairs.

As the Post's Beijing bureau chief from 1985 to 1990, he covered all the big stories, the economic reforms, politics, human rights and, of course, Tiananmen, for which he received a Pulitzer nomination. All of those subjects are going to be dealt with by APN. So, too, will we deal with all of the major issues, the stories that often cause tensions between our free society and China's repressive regime.

We intend to probe the culture to show the people, who are our listeners, that we value their culture. We want to explore their domestic concerns as their ancient traditions collide with modern mechanisms speeding toward the 21st century and collide with

their own government. Subjects like religion, population control, the environment. Religion is a subject that you all are familiar with, like the situation in China. Three weeks ago, you heard testimony before your committee from Nina Shea of the Puebla Program of Freedom House.

We will also do profiles of Chinese people now living in this country. We will bring to light and broadcast contemporary literature and classics that are not now available because of official muzzling of free expression. China is, of course, our No. 1 target and we will broadcast to the people there in Mandarin, Cantonese and Tibetan. For the other countries to which we will broadcast, Burma, Cambodia, Laos, North Korea and Vietnam, we will take the same editorial approach as for China.

But, what about our broadcast schedule? Well, before the end of the summer, we will start the Mandarin service, then as soon as we move into our permanent headquarters, we will quickly add on our other language services one at a time and also expand Mandarin so that by the early part of 1997, we will be on the air with our full schedule, 15 hours of programming a day.

Since day one, we have been working to nail down our transmission network. All broadcasts will originate in Washington and correspondents and stringers from all over Asia will feed their material to Washington. Then it will be fed out again via satellite to transmitters in Asia for broadcast.

Negotiations are in progress for transmission leases for more than half a dozen different locations, sites on offshore islands and on the Asian mainland. All of our planning is being done within the framework of a mandate to be lean and mean. Our budget is indeed lean, and as for mean, Asia's repressive regimes may think we are, but actually, what we will be doing is reporting fairly and objectively, an approach they do not welcome. I am sure that there will be jamming of our transmissions. We expect it and we have plans to deal with it.

In closing, I want to say that all of us at APN are pleased to have been chosen to implement what you in Congress have created, a broadcast network to reach the people of Asia who have been denied the freedom to communicate. Thank you for this opportunity to speak.

[The prepared statement of Mr. Richter appears in the appendix.]

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Richter.

Mr. Funderburk has to leave momentarily, so I yield to the distinguished gentleman to begin the questioning.

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I appreciate the good job you have been doing here today, as well as what you did on Larry King last night.

I do not normally agree with my colleague, Congressman Tom Lantos, but he sent a letter to Mr. Burke recently in which he expressed some concerns, disturbing reports that RFE/RL had been carrying out anti-American tones in their broadcast to the former Soviet Union, as well as anti-Semitic tones in their broadcasts. I hope this is not the case, but if it is, something should be done about it immediately.

My main concern today, following up on the statement of Chairman Smith, is to nail down the delaying tactics going on to stall

the move of Radio Marti and TV Marti to Miami. I wanted to just preface this by saying that having lived for 6 years behind the Iron Curtain, I realize and appreciate very much the role and the value of RFE/RL, VOA and U.S. international broadcasting in general. I appreciate Mr. Cowan's hospitality and tour of the VOA facility recently very much, and I want to express the fact that I support the mission and the objectives of international broadcasting and I certainly see the great value of it.

But, I hope that Mr. Burke, you are as concerned about getting the voice of democracy into Fidel Castro's Communist Cuba as you are about Big Bird here in this country.

I would like to ask these questions. What is the current status of moving Radio and TV Marti operations to Miami, as Congress has called for? What is the date that you believe the move will be completed? Do you have a specific timetable and why is the foot-dragging going on?

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Funderburk, I am glad you asked. In both of the things that you have drawn attention to, we are accused of things from where we do not know. But, it consistently goes on. Let me address the "foot-dragging" on the move of Radio Marti.

When the Congress finally moved on that budget appropriations bill and when the President of the United States signed it, at our very next board meeting, which was about a week and 5 days later, we passed a resolution to move Radio Marti as quickly as possible and established a committee of the Board of Governors, including Alberto Moro and Mr. Ted Kaufman and Cheryl Halpern to facilitate that move as quickly as possible, even though the Board of Governors was on record as opposed to that move.

However, we understand what our obligations are when the Congress of the United States passes a law and the President of the United States signs it, that it is the public policy of this country. We have not been foot-dragging.

Now, let me address to the extent that I can, and Cheryl will help me on this, as well, since she is knowledgeable about that committee, there are things that have to be done that are not obstacles that we have put in place.

The General Services Administration has to select a site, has to find the building, so this can be done in a legal fashion. That is underway. There are some delays involved in that.

Second, negotiations have to be undertaken with the unions in order to protect the rights of all the workers in the Office of Cuba Broadcasting. Those negotiations have been underway, but they are in trouble and my belief is, and I do not want to influence them in any way by discussing the details of the trouble they are in, Mr. Funderburk, my sense is they are heading for binding arbitration.

Mr. FUNDERBURK. So, there is no truth that obstruction is going on because the BBG had no role in the decision?

Mr. BURKE. There is absolutely no truth to that. Cheryl may wish to address that.

Ms. HALPERN. In fact, I was over at OCB yesterday. We are doing everything possible to facilitate this move. We are waiting, though, for example, to see the IG report with respect to the issue of the research going on with OCB. So, the BBG can only respond when GSA is going to take the initiative and say, this is the site,

when the arbitration with the unions is finally put to bed and when the IG report is finally issued. We cannot operate in a vacuum.

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Right. I would like to reiterate that it is the intent of Congress to move the entire operation——

Mr. BURKE. If I could reiterate, we are constantly accused of standing against the will of the Congress on this thing. I personally opposed this move. I have publicly been on the record for that. I have written a letter to the chairman of this committee last December. I have written to this administration. I am opposed to the move because I think it is bad public policy, but that is beside the point. I am a citizen of this country. You passed a law, the President of the United States has signed it and we will carry it out and that is the bottom line. However, there is anticipation that we were going to be foot-draggers or we were going to in some way play these childish games, and we are not doing that.

Mr. FUNDERBURK. I am just getting reports that you are, but——

Mr. COWAN. Can I just add to that, too?

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Yes.

Mr. COWAN. It is my job on an operational level, Congressman, to be responsible for this. The board's position has been to act as quickly and effectively as we possibly could, while being mindful also of costs. The day after Congress passed this law, I actually went to Florida and looked at some possible sites.

We had the GSA specifications ready, I think, within a matter of a couple of weeks. There has been no delay in my opinion that we are remotely responsible for, and I really believe we are trying to act as quickly as we can.

Mr. BURKE. If I may, on the second point that was raised here, I am speaking to you, sir, not as a Federal employee but as a private citizen who undertakes to do these things because I think it is in the best interest of the country that more and more people serve in the public life.

However, sometimes it can be a very difficult thing to do. I have seen this in the private sector. When things happen, whether it is a cutback at CBS News or whether there is a change such as a move from Munich to Prague, and when some people cannot adjust to that and some people leave, it is human nature to feel very strongly about the episode they have been through and they persist in criticisms of the surviving institution. I understand that. And, we are willing to look into any of those kinds of criticisms, but when the charge of anti-Semitism is raised, we take that especially seriously and we find it especially damning, not from our point of view but from those who raise it. I do not mean Congressman Lantos in this case. He has heard a complaint that there is anti-Semitism. I would like Cheryl, perhaps, to address that as well.

Ms. HALPERN. That is a charge which I take very personally, inasmuch as I am an observant Jewess and have been a longtime activist with respect to the issue of anti-Semitism, working with Abe Foxman of the Anti-Defamation League.

These charges were raised when the BIB was still in existence. At that time, Ken Tomlinson, Michael Novak and myself all listened to tapes and read transcripts of the broadcasts that were called into question. And, I will honestly say that as a Jewess, I

am very comfortable with the broadcasts that were made, and I will state that there is no anti-Semitism, neither directly nor through overtone, in those particular broadcasts that were referenced.

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Thank you very much. Mr. Chairman, I have one more question. What is the current status of the Radio Marti reinvention plan which was designed to eliminate waste in the operation? This was Chairman Chris Smith's amendment, and this could go to Mr. Cowan, Mr. Burke or Dr. Duffey.

Mr. COWAN. I think here you are specifically referring to the matter that is in arbitration. This is the issue that is in arbitration, which has to do with the elimination of the research bureau. Is that what you are referring to, Congressman?

Mr. FUNDERBURK. Yes.

Mr. COWAN. That is currently in arbitration and we are waiting for the results of that arbitration. We are not in a position to act until the arbitrator rules.

Mr. FUNDERBURK. OK, thank you very much.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I address this to Dr. Duffey or to any of the panelists. What remains to be done in terms of consolidation of broadcasting?

Dr. DUFFEY. I think we all might comment on that, Mr. Chairman. As you recall, the last administration had as long ago as 1990 proposed the elimination of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. It was the consolidation that not only persuaded working with the Congress that these services should be continued, but that gave us an opportunity to redesign them, **move them to a new location and then to create this cooperative arrangement.**

I think Mr. Klose can speak to the achievements that have been made with respect to sharing transmitter and engineering facilities and how far along we have gotten in that regard, and both he and Mr. Cowan can speak to the question of sharing of news sources, news reporting.

Mr. KLOSE. Mr. Chairman, we in the past year have successfully knit together a single consolidated short-wave transmission schedule that eliminates all conflict or all overlap by any of our language services between Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty broadcasting into that region, Central Europe and the former Soviet Union.

We have also achieved cooperation in co-broadcasting, doing shared live feeds, doing cooperative broadcasting which is pioneering new ways for the two services to both complement each other and also to save money at the same time, and we see ways that we can explore this avenue to achieve further savings in the years ahead.

Mr. Cowan wants to add some remarks as well, sir.

Mr. COWAN. Well, I think an illustration of it is some of what we are trying to do in Bosnia, which Kevin mentioned before. There is a television show on the elections to Bosnia which Worldnet, which is the television component of the IBB, and the Voice of America, and RFE/RL have all been producing together.

I think these are the kinds of ventures that we will strive to increase as ways of increasing our effectiveness and saving taxpayer dollars.

Mr. GILMAN. Mr. Cowan, could you elaborate on the work you are doing with the Department of Justice, to identify major international fugitives who are wanted by our nation?

Mr. COWAN. Yes, we have been working with the Department of Justice and also will be working with the State Department and others who are interested in tracking down international terrorists and drug dealers and other international criminals.

As you know, there is an increased ability now for the Federal law enforcement officials to actually seek people around the world, thanks to legislation from this body, and we are working on a new system of what will probably be weekly broadcasts. I think of them a little bit like "America's Most Wanted" in this country.

Mr. GILMAN. I was going to ask you.

Mr. COWAN. That's how we see it. And, of course, what is remarkable about the Voice of America is that people may hear us in Kurdish or they may hear us in Farsi or they might hear us in Dari or they might hear us in Pashto or they might hear us in Urdu. You do not know what language they are going to hear us in. We will be broadcasting in all of those languages, editorials or particular spots that are designed to help to track those people down.

Mr. GILMAN. Are you going to offer rewards, too?

Mr. COWAN. We will announce the rewards that are being offered by the U.S. Government.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you. Mr. Richter, I have one last question, Mr. Chairman. We are all anxious for Radio Free Asia to begin broadcasting. I was pleased to hear your report.

Can you elaborate on the negotiations for transmission leases that you cite in your statement? What will the new relay station on Tinian add to the capabilities of broadcasting into Asia and how long will it take to build that new station? Is it going to be flexible enough to meet the changes in broadcasting requirements that we may face down the road?

Mr. RICHTER. My understanding, Mr. Gilman, is that Tinian will take about roughly 2 years from now. Am I correct, Geoff, as far as you know?

Mr. COWAN. That's right, to complete it.

Mr. RICHTER. Yes, to complete it, and at that time, it will be enormously helpful to us and to Voice of America, obviously, and conceivably to Radio Liberty. I am not sure.

But, until that time, we have been conducting an exhaustive survey throughout some of the former Soviet republics that border or almost border on China. In addition, we have conducted surveys of other broadcast facilities on offshore islands and we are certain that if we were to go on the air, as I say, by the end of summer, we will have plenty of transmission points to reach all of our broadcast areas, including multiple transmissions coming in from various directions that will be designed to help us deal with the jamming that we are sure is going to take place.

Mr. GILMAN. Just one last request. I hope that you are going to preserve your present name of Radio Free Asia and not look around for any fancy names.

Mr. RICHTER. No fancy names.

Mr. GILMAN. Thank you.

Dr. DUFFEY. Mr. Chairman.

Mr. GILMAN. Dr. Duffey.

Dr. DUFFEY. May I make just a comment in the spirit of this committee's responsibility and all our responsibilities? I think you would agree that Mr. Cowan's work that is being done now with respect to international terrorism and the cooperation of the Department of Justice is an important function. Mr. Cowan deserves credit because he had to overrule many of the journalists in VOA and several long-time administrators, as he saw the importance of that as a responsibility.

But, there is a strong spirit of those who feel that there is simply no responsibility to do anything like that. In fact, that it compromises the mission. That is why this area is very difficult and I think Mr. Cowan deserves credit for a strong and effective leadership in serving the U.S. interest in this regard.

Mr. GILMAN. I certainly would join you in that commendation. Of course, the Congress, I think, is fully supportive of whatever we can do to stem terrorism wherever we may find it. I want to commend all of you for your efforts and your good works. I regret I am being called to another hearing.

Yes, Mr. Cowan.

Mr. COWAN. I simply feel that I have to say that in doing that, in my view—I found another way to do it, which is not having it be part of the journalistic cycle, because I do respect the integrity of our news operation.

So, it is not a part of the news cycle, but it will be part of the third part of our charter, which is information that we put on that presents positions of the U.S. Government.

Mr. GILMAN. Well, some of us grew up in the era of "gangbusters" and that kind of broadcasting and I think we welcome what you are doing. Thank you.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much, Mr. Chairman.

I have a number of questions. In follow up to Mr. Funderburk's question, because I, too, was concerned and I read your letter dated May 2, Mr. Burke, to Walter Dellinger, when you were seeking a legal interpretation of the April 1 deadline.

Mr. BURKE. Yes.

Mr. SMITH. You did point out that you know, or you suspected that the intent of the authors of this section was to authorize the move to Miami, regardless of the April 1 deadline. I am sure you wanted to stay absolutely within the parameters of the law.

Mr. BURKE. That is exactly right, sir.

Mr. SMITH. But, if you could provide for the committee at least a ballpark view as to the timetable?

Mr. BURKE. I would like to be able to do that, and I think all members of the committee would like to be able to do that. It is impossible for us to do that as long as the union negotiations remain in the frozen state that they are in.

We have to observe the law, we have to carry it out as efficiently and legally and correctly as possible. I do not want the Board of Governors to be in a situation where it is blamed simply because there was anticipation that there would be a delay and had to lay it someplace. But, we have been expeditious. There is no doubt in

my mind on that, regardless of some of the strong feelings that we held.

Mr. SMITH. I thank you for that assurance. Let me ask Mr. Klose, perhaps you could provide us some additional details of what you are doing with regard to Bosnia. We recently had a hearing and we heard from Ambassador Frolich. I chair the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe, and he and Ambassador Montgomery gave a very good series of statements about what is happening, whether or not it will be free and fair, how the displaced community is going to participate.

Regrettably, they did not raise the efforts that are being made by Radio Free Europe and by Radio Liberty to try to reach out and to empower those people with information so that they can participate. Can you elaborate on what you are actually doing?

Mr. KLOSE. Mr. Chairman, we have a 3-hour radio service every day in this integrated service called the South Slavic Service. Each day, a portion of the programming is focused on the election and campaign process.

In addition, we have self-invented and brought into a pilot show a one-half-hour television program which is proposed as a weekly program to focus on the election, sort of look back at the end of the week. We have money within our budget to do this. It is simply an extension of the radio broadcasting which we are doing. It comes out of our same radio broadcasting service. The same people are engaged.

We have a segment in there which includes a feed from the Voice of America and we have been able to successfully place this on individual stations in Bosnia. However, sir, we did make a presentation, Mr. Cowan and I, to the Executive Committee, it is called the ExCom, some months ago, looking for, seeking additional funds to expand this kind of effort. We were basically turned aside. Specifically with regard to our television program, we would hope for assistance from the U.S. Embassy, you know, U.S. diplomatic help in Bosnia to help us gain access to the processes by which the program can be made available to individual independent stations there.

We are very concerned that with the election approaching as quickly as it is, television remains the primary medium. Both Voice of America and Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty management are very aware of the power of television. So, we have crafted this show to fit into that niche and respond to it.

I will say, however, that both our radio services to the area enjoy enormously high listenerships. A recent USIA poll of listeners in Sarajevo and several other places in Bosnia showed that Radio Free Europe's Slavic Service and the Voice of America are the two leading services in that order in those lands. It is because we present this balanced and objective skein of news and information and current affairs in a unique way that we have gained enormous respect and audience response.

Mr. Cowan may have some further—

Mr. COWAN. Maybe I could add to that, Mr. Chairman, because I think you have touched on an extremely important area here. Combined, we have a listenership in the region on radio of over 20 percent. That is remarkable. This is regular listenership and this

is because people are starved for good balanced objective news, as well as because we have people working for us who do such a terrific job in those languages and doing the reporting.

But, when we made this proposal—actually, Kevin mentioned the ExCom meeting, but there have also been a series of other meetings that we have been at where we have said that with more resources, we thought we could make a major contribution to this process, not just the electoral process, but the whole reconstruction process. We think the media has a huge role.

Let us say it hasn't been as high a priority as it possibly could have been, but I think it speaks to something else, Mr. Chairman, that is very important. Chairman Gilman spoke of the importance of having some flexibility and in this year's budget as tight as it is, Kevin was able to find a few dollars, and I was able to find a few dollars to be able to do more broadcasting in that region because of the importance of that area during the last year.

If the budget is cut or even remains static for this next year, we will not have that kind of flexibility. Many people say well, why are you broadcasting in so many languages? But, the truth is that if we had been 5 years ago talking about languages to eliminate, our broadcasts to this particular region would have been ones we would have said could have been eliminated. We feel that for that reason, it is the unique function, both of RFE/RL and the Voice of America, and I dare say this will be true of Mr. Richter's operation, that we must continue to broadcast in all of these languages that reach people whom nobody else can reach.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that. Just let me say for the record that I appreciate the coverage that you have given to our subcommittee as well as to the Helsinki Commission. We have had now about 50 hearings between the two. In this subcommittee, we have had nine hearings, for example, on human rights in China; five on the human rights situation in Vietnam. I look over at the press table and I have yet to see one time my own press from my own area, and Cheryl will understand this, but yet, you were always here. It is more important, really, that that message get back to those countries and in those languages. So, I want to commend you for the good work that you do.

If you are covering my hearings and the hearings of the Helsinki Commission, I know you are covering the Senate and getting that information out which shows that we do care about these human rights issues.

Let me ask a question. Mr. Richter, you mentioned in your testimony that your budget is lean. Is it adequate?

Mr. RICHTER. That is a good question. It is barely adequate for this initial period. It enables us to get on the air and because we have startup funds, we will be able to apply some of those startup funds to possibly cover some of the costs of transmission which are very, very difficult to determine exactly until we actually get our leases all negotiated.

But, I anticipate coming to the Congress in future years and saying that now we are on the ground and we have more experience as to what we actually need to continue, that we will need more funding than the bare bones \$10 million a year.

Mr. SMITH. As detailed and as often as you can provide the information obviously to the appropriators as well as to this committee would be helpful, so that we can fight the good fight in our caucuses and in this committee room to try to provide that.

Our efforts are bipartisan. As you know, people like Howard Berman and Tom and Mr. Gilman and I and others all will make the case, provided we have the information.

Mr. RICHTER. OK, thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Burke.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Chairman, I am glad you mentioned that because this year's request is very important. I also want to say in tribute to many people who, before the Board of Governors came into existence, when the Board of Governors was finally sworn in and we had 90 days to inform the Congress, asked the question you just asked: whether or not this organization could be created with \$10 million.

The answer in years past would have been absolutely not, but because of the consolidation that took place, because of the work of Geoff Cowan and his Voice of America and Kevin Klose, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, they, indeed, wrote to me the first memo as to how, with cooperation, as opposed to turf fights, by using the same transmission facilities, by eliminating redundancies, how this thing could be done for \$10 million.

So, I want to give an awful lot of credit to them and the leadership they gave, which is, come to think of it, rather unheard of, that the head of Voice of America and head of Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty would actually conspire to help create a sister organization.

But, for this year, on the \$10 million, we can do it. The important thing is, every nickel that we can save on transmission costs we can put into programming. That programming will be hard and different and unique. But, of all the things that we want Asia Pacific Network to be, the height of professionalism, the height of integrity and beyond criticism as being a thoughtless organization, it has to be the best, because we know that the one thing that is most fearsome to authoritarian governments is fair and objective reporting. That is a killer.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that. Let me just ask again, Mr. Richter, on the anatomy of the name change to the Asia Pacific Network, we were informally told that there were a couple of reasons why that occurred, even though Congress explicitly had mentioned Radio Free Asia.

The first was that it might not just be radio, it might include other types of media. The second was that we were seeking the permission of Thailand and that it seemed—and these may have been your words—too confrontational to be using the words "Radio Free", emphasizing "free", with regard to places like the Peoples Republic of China. Is that true? Is that what was behind the name change?

Mr. RICHTER. Yes, I think so. Actually, the name change preceded my employment, so if David would like to elaborate?

Mr. BURKE. I will be happy to address that, Mr. Chairman. There has been discussion of Radio Free Asia since 1992, about the need for it, thank God, but it was never defined. Hence, everyone

defined it in the worst way possible, because no one ever said if there is one, it will be this.

So, therefore, foreign governments such as the Philippines, before the law even passed, were saying, we are not going to have that on our transmission. Do not try to sneak that one by us and so on, because there was no definition of what it was.

The point I am trying to make is, the term Radio Free Asia had a life all of its own with no definition behind it. Our concern was, if the one thing that is most important to us is to put a credible and hard-hitting product on the air that reaches as many ears as possible to fulfill the mandate of the Congress, the one thing we do not want to do is get hung up over some precondition about what some will say the Radio Free Asia was going to be. Others will say, even in the friendly Philippines, my God, that is going to be a monstrosity. Everyone had a definition of what it was, because there was no definition of what it was.

It seemed to us to be a prudent course of action, not because it reflects in any way the kind of material that will be on it or the kind of effort that will be put into it, it was just a prudent course of action to recognize the fact, as we approach the year 2000, that it is not going to be just radio. It is going to be computers, it is going to be satellite broadcasting, direct radio, and television. It is going to be all of those things. To be pinned down, we thought, was—

Mr. SMITH. So, regarding the idea of being confrontational—or as you say, “hard hitting”—is it going to be hard hitting?

Mr. BURKE. Oh, we expect it to be hard hitting.

Mr. SMITH. Certainly, the prototype is Radio Free Europe and—

Mr. BURKE. Exactly right, sir.

Mr. SMITH [continuing]. we never minced words or pulled our punches there.

Mr. BURKE. The beauty of this hearing is, we can clear some underbrush here, such as the attacks that have been on us, that we will drag our feet here or that we are doing bad things there, does not happen to be true.

I do not want it in the air that the name was changed to Asian Pacific Network and that was reflective of how we viewed the mandate differently than Congress. Not at all. It was done for a very pragmatic reason that we can say to other governments before they decide automatically against it, given the debate that has been going on since 1992, give us a chance, listen to the broadcasts, listen to it.

If we cannot broadcast from the Philippines, we can broadcast elsewhere and we can reach our audience, but not with the same clarity and not with the same power and what is the end goal here? As I said, the end goal is to broadcast effectively to as many ears as possible.

Mr. SMITH. I do not want to be too confrontational, but the words were Mr. Richter's at a VOA meeting where he said one of the reasons for the change was to avoid a confrontational approach.

Mr. RICHTER. I think with your permission, sir, I would like to explain that a little bit. I think that what I really meant and I think that the full context of my remarks would show this, was

that we do not want to be seen as being arbitrarily confrontational, just for the sake of being confrontational. Because I thought and I think that it has been proven by journalistic practice throughout the years that if you do behave that way journalistically, you immediately lose your credibility. Once you lose your credibility, you have lost the war and you have lost the battle.

One of the things that is absolutely essential for a news organization, and David has mentioned this, I think, very eloquently, is the ability to tell the truth and that a free society is able to do that. The people that live in the societies in which we are going to broadcast realize that they are not being dealt from the top of the deck and that their administrations are not leveling with them. I think that they will welcome the breath of fresh air that we will provide for them in examining their institutions and the practices of their government in a fair and critical and objective way, just as the legislation that created us says we should do.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Chairman, if I can, not to elongate, but it is a matter of some interest to us. The Congress itself recognized this in the conference report when they specifically said the Committee of Conference on this clause, that Radio Free Asia is not being created with the objective of broadcasting propaganda.

Indeed, the Committee of Conference expects Radio Free Asia to adopt appropriate editorial policies to ensure the highest professional standards. All we want to do is have the highest professional standards, as I have already said, and I am telling you, that is as hard hitting as you can get.

Mr. SMITH. Again, that is reassuring, and that is one of the reasons why we have hearings like this, to get it very clear so there is no ambiguity, no rumor. Just a friendly suggestion. Maybe "Free Asia Network" might be a way of clarifying and making sure that everyone stays happy over what is happening here.

Let me just conclude with a couple of comments and anything else you might want to provide for the record. The record will stay open so you can do that. When it comes to human rights—and this is why I think there is skepticism on both sides of the aisle—there has been a double standard with regard to places like China. We just went through the issue of MFN and Chris Cox had a piece of legislation that, I think, will lead to some sanctions, perhaps modest, but some sanctions vis-a-vis the Peoples Republic of China.

But, what we have seen over the last 3 years—and the hearings that I have held on this have borne this out over and over and over again—has been a tremendous amount of duplicity on the part of the Administration. The MOU, which is a Bush holdover on gulag labor—and I have actually been into one of those gulags—is not worth the paper it is printed on.

When people are suffering in these gulags, when women are being forcibly aborted routinely, when you have situations of Tiananmen Square protestors, when Wei Jingsheng continues to languish in prison and not one real substantive effort is being made apart from broadcasts to try to spring his release, at the same time you hear these fictions, it makes a lot of cynics up here. That goes for people like Mr. Lantos, who is not here, on the Democratic side and myself on the Republican side.

We just want to mean what we say and say what we mean and we are hoping that a hearing like this helps clarify it. We want the network to be absolutely honest and nobody wants propaganda. Propaganda comes back at you. Just like any politician, your word is your bond. Once you lose your credibility, you become ineffective. At least I think you ought to.

Mr. RICHTER. Mr. Smith, may I just?

Mr. SMITH. Yes.

Mr. RICHTER. Say that I purposely mentioned the testimony that was given before your committee by Nina Shea of the Puebla Program as an example of the kind of thing that we will follow up on and take advantage of in terms of reporting the full story and not just her testimony, but some testimony of the people that were affected by this religious persecution that is currently going on in China, which you do not read very much about in the daily press.

You do read about it in places like the Far Eastern Economic Review, etc. Also, we are aware, for instance, of a Human Rights Watch report which is coming out tomorrow which is also going to highlight the religious persecution that is currently going on in China. These are all things that we are going to pay attention to and deal with and do something about.

What I would like to say is, I would like to quote a former colleague of mine, Eric Severeid of CBS. He used to say that all journalists are behooved to stand steady in their shoes in terms of their interpretation of the truth, and that is exactly what we intend to do.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that. Mr. Richter, when did you meet with various government officials like the North Koreans or the Vietnamese—

Mr. RICHTER. I did not.

Mr. SMITH. You did not?

Mr. RICHTER. No.

Mr. SMITH. Then that information is wrong. I appreciate that. Maybe you would want to elaborate on that, because that is another one of those rumors that is out there.

Mr. RICHTER. When I said that I had met with the North Koreans, that was actually, I just misspoke at a VOA meeting. And, I, as a matter of fact, subsequently, in the course of that meeting I corrected myself and did make it clear that no, I did not meet with the North Koreans, as just about nobody else ever meets with the North Koreans, so I have not met with them.

Mr. SMITH. Mr. Moran.

Mr. MORAN. Thank you, Mr. Chairman. I unfortunately had to manage a government office bill on the floor. It was of no particular consequence—maybe that is why I was managing it.

[Laughter.]

Mr. MORAN. I wanted to be here to see what VOA is doing and ask them about a number of questions. The first question is one that apparently you, Mr. Chairman, and I disagree about and that is the move of Radio Marti to Florida.

The appropriation language said the headquarters of Radio Marti, which we were in agreement with, that was fine. But, it specifically designated headquarters, to distinguish that from the operations in general and our understanding is that, in fact, from the

committee, the Appropriations Committee, that their original intent was just what headquarters would normally mean in the lexicon.

So, I do not think they should be dragging their feet. I think they should be walking back to a position where they are acting in accordance with the intent of the Congress. I do not think the Congress had any intention of moving the entire operation and I have some questions in that regard.

I had an opportunity to talk with Mr. Cowan and I know that they want to do whatever the Congress specifically instructs them to do, so maybe the problem is that we have not been sufficiently clear. I would be interested to know where we are going to get the money if we were to go against the intent of Congress and were to move the entire operation of Radio Marti down to Florida. Who pays for all that? Who answers that, Mr. Burke?

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Moran, if I may, your position on the move of Radio Marti to Miami and my position are identical.

Mr. MORAN. I have always thought of you and, in fact, your colleagues, as well, as thoughtful, clearheaded people.

Mr. BURKE. Thank you. Ethically, we are. The language appeared, as you well know, and there were no speeches on the floor of the Senate of the United States. There were no speeches on the floor of the House of the United States concerning this move.

Mr. MORAN. Do you know why, Mr. Burke, if we could just have a little dialog here?

Mr. BURKE. Yes, sir.

Mr. MORAN. Because I called the staff of the committee and they assured me that they were only talking about headquarters, so, well, if they are only talking about headquarters, we do not mind that. So that is the only reason why we did not use the speech that we had prepared.

Mr. BURKE. There also were no hearings in the House of Representatives and there were no hearings in the Senate.

Mr. MORAN. And that is very unfortunate.

Mr. BURKE. When we discovered that the language was in the bill, and we know why that language was put in the bill. I think everyone knows why that language was put in the bill. Purely political. There is no question in my mind, at least, about that and I wrote on December 6, I wrote to Chairman Gilman of this committee. I wrote to Mr. Smith, I wrote to Mr. Lantos, I wrote to Mr. Hamilton, Mr. Mollohan and Mr. Rogers.

In the Senate, I wrote to Helms, Snowe, Pell, Kerry, Gregg and Hollings, and expressed the position that we had, feeling that there is other history, Mr. Chairman, if I may be so forward, there is other history, other than what you have cited. The history of Radio Marti itself when it began in 1983, there was, indeed, a debate about where it should be located.

The Congress specifically decided it should be located in the city of Washington on the grounds that it is a small case Voice of America. It is not the voice of a special community, it is the voice of America and all the taxpayers of this country, from New Jersey to Portland to Virginia, all of the taxpayers of this country pay for that. It is perhaps only more credible than the recipients of the message those people living on the island, realize. They are getting

the news from America and whether it is true or false, not from a group.

Hence, the Congress originally decided that this will remain in Washington. I think it was a wise decision. It seems to me that if a decision of that magnitude is going to be changed, that there should be some discussion about it, about the money, about the lives of the people involved, about the credibility, about all these things. It just seems to me, and this is especially paradoxical, that there was no discussion about it when the reason for its existence is an island 90 miles off our coast that has no free discussion. But, there were not going to be hearings about this. There were just not going to be hearings.

As a result, once the bill passed and the President of the United States signed it, we asked our own administration and we received the word back, not just casually, we were told, lock, stock and barrel, as fast and as efficiently and as expeditiously as possible, and no, again, the words "foot-dragging". There was always an anticipation that we would foot-drag, which is a real Washington situation, that if you are truly opposed to something and the act passes, then you are going to try to screw it up, which I resent.

As I told you earlier and prior to your coming here, Mr. Moran, I am a citizen of the United States and if the Congress passes a piece of legislation and the President signs it, that is the law of the land and I will carry it out to the extent that it is my responsibility. But, the anticipation was, because of my opposition and the opposition of the other members of the Board of Governors or most of them, that there would be foot-dragging.

Now, let me hypothetically, sir, draw a mental picture. Assume the Board of Governors adopts the posture that we are just going to send down the leadership. I have had a lot of experience in news and the running of news organizations and you do not leave the boys in one place and send the bosses someplace else, especially not with news people. So, it would be very hard to justify sending the bosses to Miami and keeping the bulk of employees in Washington. Who the hell is going to run them, if I can be frank about it?

But, also imagine another mental picture, if I may. If I fought for that position, where would my support come from? Certainly not from my administration and certainly not from the Republican side of the aisle. That is the long and short of it.

Mr. MORAN. Mr. Burke, I appreciate your very candid explanation and I know that it is reflective of your deep integrity and commitment to the integrity of the news and information that comes out of our international broadcasting operations. I think USIA and VOA have credibility at stake and it is a very high level of credibility. In fact, really, if there was good will, if USIA and good will were valued, that would be its principal value. I mean, you cannot operate without credibility, without people knowing that you are unbiased.

I think that there is a real question as to whether the information coming out of Radio Marti is going to be more or less biased. I know that it will be more biased if it is controlled out of Miami than if it is coming out of Washington. I will say, Mr. Chairman, for the record, that the way this happened was that Senator Gramm was running for President, he was down in Florida and he

needed an issue. So, he said, I am going to move Radio Marti down to Miami. Then, everyone else, anxious to get the Cuban vote or at least on their assumptions that that was going to help them get the Cuban vote, went along with it.

This administration, this White House, is not above playing politics either. But, the fact is, it is not in VOA's best interest, it is not in Cuban Americans' best interest, it is not in the American people's, the American taxpayers' best interests to do this. It is patently political.

One of the reasons why some people who might not otherwise speak up against it would just as soon it happened is that they know that it makes the whole Radio Marti operation more vulnerable. It is going to be much easier to just kill it entirely, and one day, I suspect that that will happen and the seeds were sown with this move if it occurs.

So, I strongly object to this move, to the reasons why it was thought of in the first place and to the fact that nobody had the backbone to stand up and stop it, I should say, outside of VOA. I do not blame VOA at all. I have to criticize VOA because of the fact that they are the ones that have to carry it out. I do not know that they really have a choice at this point, but I think most people that care about the integrity of VOA and the reliability of information being given to Cuba do care very much and would be very much opposed to this move.

So, Dr. Duffey at this point wants to say something if, with your indulgence, Mr. Chairman, maybe we can hear from Dr. Duffey?

Dr. DUFFEY. I want to say first of all that I welcomed the comments of several members of this committee. Mr. Smith began by talking about the problem of reducing funding in this area.

On the other hand, the Congress will have to look at reslicing the pie if we are going to have adequate funds for these programs. I have on my desk a letter from Mr. Kasich asking me and other members of the foreign affairs community to demonstrate how we are going to support President Clinton's commitment to a balanced budget by the year 2000. That balanced budget, I think, is very important to America's strength and leadership. It is as important, perhaps, in terms of our capacity in the future, as anything else we do.

When I began at USIA 3 years ago, we began to experience sliding dollars in many places around the world. Because we have shown some will to tackle our deficit, our money now goes further with overseas expenditures. So, we are caught in this problem.

Now, there is an indication in the report, I think, that Congress received from the Marti Advisory Board, from a study that there are savings to be gained by this and we are going to have to find those savings. The Congress could help us in this regard, perhaps, by examining again the television Cuban Broadcasting Service, which as far as we can tell has very few viewers and is a more than \$10 million bill. Those are funds that could be spent someplace else.

But, we need to find ways to reassess the value of moneys we spent, everything we have spent on exchanges. The whole Fulbright Program, all the other programs, we have spent for 50 years. We are celebrating the 50th anniversary of those exchanges this

year. We are funded on less than the cost of two B-2 bombers and we must stay committed, as I know you want us to stay committed, to trying to manage that deficit. We do have at least a firm study that suggests this might save some resources.

I think Mr. Moran is making a plea for human regard for the individuals who have been involved in the way that we pursue those policies and that is a major concern of mine, though we have had to have small RIF's at USIA, as you may be aware. Our salaries and exchanges budget was so cut by the Authorizing Committee last year in anticipating a consolidation, that we really are very close to the edge in terms of stability for logistical research, logistical support.

So, we need to find a way to find savings as well as we contemplate this. I think if at the end of the day we cannot see those savings, then I would hope the Congress would look again at this matter.

Mr. MORAN. Well, I would hope so. Maybe we will get some enlightenment with the IG report. That might be some help to add that consideration into the equation.

I would like to ask you, Dr. Duffey, because I know that you always give an honest answer, are you convinced that the objectivity and professionalism and integrity of the staff of Radio Marti will not be compromised if the entire operation were to move to Miami?

Dr. DUFFEY. No, I am not. I also believe that that is something we have to work at forever the radio exists. I have on record as indicating that I think, as Mr. Burke has indicated, there are some foreign policy reasons respecting the credibility of the station that we need to think about more clearly.

The fact is, I believe that the most vigorous debate about how we should position ourself with respect to Cuba today is probably going on in Miami and in the Miami community. So, as you know, unfortunately rather late, a number of very prominent Cuban-Americans, many of whom have been imprisoned, wrote pleas to the Congress and asked for a reconsideration of this.

But, I do not know. It may be that a station located there with the voices in that community now will find itself under even closer knowledgeable scrutiny than happens in Washington. I am not sure.

Mr. MORAN. Well, maybe if it was under different leadership.

Mr. Cowan.

Mr. COWAN. Yes, first of all, Congressman Moran, I want to express my appreciation for your understanding of the situation that we are in. Second, I appreciate your kind words about the Voice of America. Could I, in the spirit of brainstorming which we seem to be in here for a moment, talk about Television Marti for one moment?

Mr. MORAN. Sure, please.

Mr. COWAN. I do this in part because I probably will not be around when the events that I want to talk about take place. But, Television Marti, as you know, is about to start an experiment to broadcast on UHF. We do know the VHF broadcasts are not widely seen. Maybe it will be more broadly seen on UHF. That is the purpose of that experiment.

But, I would like to suggest that this committee have an open mind to the notion that if, in fact, that experiment proves to be a failure and that the UHF transmissions are blocked successfully, that then we consider whether that money could be more productively spent either to help with issues like the move or other issues having to do with international broadcasting or the USIA or even simply to retire the debt. I do think that if the committee would keep an open mind to that issue, it would probably be very helpful.

Mr. SMITH. How much time do you think we need to assess that kind of operation?

Mr. COWAN. The technicians working on it think we will know within a couple of weeks of the day that it goes on the air.

Mr. BURKE. Mr. Chair, from my experience in broadcasting, you will know in an hour.

Mr. MORAN. I thank the chairman for his indulgence. Personally, I do not think that TV Marti is the most effective use of our tax dollars. I have kept an open mind on Radio Marti and I became convinced of it when I sat on the Appropriations Committee that provided the money that, in fact, Radio Marti was providing a constructive service and it was because of the integrity of the staff people.

I am not sure that you cannot operate a program like that with the bosses one place and the staff people the other place, because the staff people knew just what they were doing. They got objective sources of information. I was quite impressed. This is a constructive operation. It is not just a political vehicle.

I think TV Marti is a very different story but the question of content is really moot. If nobody is watching it, it does not matter what you are showing. If a tree falls in the forest and nobody is around—so, I do not think that anyone would be the worse for saving the money that is spent on TV Marti.

But, that money needs to go into expanding USIA and VOA specifically. There is just so much need to counter propaganda, as I know you know, Mr. Chairman. So much of the Bosnian conflict was because of the propaganda that came out under the state run TV and radio, that slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Tutsi's in Rwanda, it just shows you how effective a radio station with a vicious intent can be when it is not countered by honest, objective information. The use of propaganda time and again has been found to be so destructive. That is why it seems to me the United States with its credibility generally and VOA specifically, with the high level of credibility and professionalism it has, has an enormous job to do in this world.

Mr. COWAN. If I could tell you a high spot.

Mr. MORAN. I would like to see some of the money spent for that purpose.

Mr. COWAN. If I could give you a positive note, Congressman, you speak of Central Africa, where I know that both the chairman and you have a deep interest, and where we have seen the awful results of hate radio.

We, in fact, starting on Monday, will be starting a new Central African service in languages spoken only by the people of Burundi and Rwanda. We know that even without that service, with our French to Africa, Swahili and English services we saved a great

many lives there. It is the belief of the State Department and the NSC that we can save a lot more lives when we broadcast in these two additional languages.

But, for us to start those languages, we did not have the money. We had to have it transferred from USAID and I think that for us to perform our function in the world, we need this kind of financing.

Mr. MORAN. Yes, definitely, and you may have earlier located a source of getting some of that money.

Yes, Mr. Burke.

Mr. BURKE. Earlier, Mr. Chairman, you were asking about whether \$10 million is enough for Radio Free Asia or the Asian Pacific Network. We spend \$12 million a year on Television Marti on a signal that no one can see, and we have done that for 7 years and we cannot stop doing it. So, now we are going to try a UHF experiment, and I will tell you what is going to happen with the UHF experiment. I hope it does not, but I will tell you what is going to happen with it. Then the fight will be, can we stop it now?

The attitude seems to be, no, we cannot, we cannot let that awful island win one, as though it is a win of some kind, instead of taking \$12 million a year and using it for some constructive purpose. It is going to be spent year after year after year, unless, and only if the Congress can stop it.

Mr. SMITH. So, you are convinced that the jamming of the UHF will take effect?

Mr. BURKE. Yes, I am.

Mr. SMITH. Even for places outside of Havana?

Mr. BURKE. Well, you may get some fringe here or some fringe there. We will have to see. I hope I am wrong, but I do not think that is going to happen. We are talking about close to \$85 million, if not more, that has gone down a hole since it began.

Mr. COWAN. I want to speak to the quality. I think the quality of Television Marti is very good. I think speaking of what Congressman Moran said, I think Radio Marti is an extremely valuable enterprise. I think the question here is whether people can see Television Marti.

Mr. BURKE. I fully agree. My opposition to the move should not be misunderstood. I know full well that a vast population in Cuba listens to Radio Marti and attends to it, hence, the responsibility is even greater that we make sure that we maintain its credibility and that the people who are listening to it do not believe that it belongs to a faction as opposed to it belonging to the free world. That, really, is the essence.

Mr. MORAN. I just wanted to remark on the quality of our witnesses here, Mr. Chairman, and the courage of Mr. Burke. We are blessed to have him in the position he is in. I have to say, you know, to have people the caliber of Joe Duffey and Geoff Cowan, having their budget cut year after year and yet they just provide a tremendous service and even from a professional standpoint, they just set a real high, as high a standard as imaginable in such a critical position to be in. So, I thank you for having these witnesses, and it is just one more demonstration of their ability, their professionalism and their caliber.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you very much Mr. Moran. I think this hearing is important for getting to the bottom of some of the rumors that have been floating around, and also to get additional information as to what you are doing. Again, Mr. Klose, I made the request for the information you provided us on what is being done vis-a-vis Bosnia in the upcoming elections as chairman of the Helsinki Commission. As the head of a delegation, I will be one of the many thousands of observers who will be there on September 14.

While it may turn out to be a relatively free election, its fairness is still in question and the lack of media for the opposition parties is the main issue. So, by getting additional information out to those hearers and viewers, certainly the hearers, I think you provide an invaluable service. You were not here when that discussion ensued, but it is a little-known piece of information and I think we need to be supporting it.

If you could provide additional information on how we might be helpful in getting more money as the clock ticks toward September 14?

Mr. KLOSE. Yes, sir, thank you very much. We would be very happy to submit something later.

Mr. SMITH. I appreciate that. I would like to thank our very distinguished witnesses and echo my colleagues' comments that the caliber of your commitment to freedom and democracy is evident. I look forward to working closely with you.

Hopefully, a tourniquet is now on for any additional cuts. As Dr. Duffey knows, we have fought hard to try to mitigate the damage, particularly for the freedom broadcasting. H.R. 1561 had higher numbers and we fought, unsuccessfully unfortunately, with the appropriators as they cut even further. But that fight will continue and the information you provide will be most helpful.

Dr. DUFFEY. Thank you.

Mr. BURKE. Thank you. I greatly appreciate it, Mr. Chairman. Thank you very much.

Mr. SMITH. Thank you. The hearing is adjourned.

[Whereupon, at 4:03 p.m., the subcommittee was adjourned, to reconvene subject to the call of the chair.]



APPENDIX

STATEMENT OF THE HONORABLE JOSEPH DUFFEY
DIRECTOR, UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
AND HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1996 - 2:00 P.M.

Mr. Chairman, Members of the Subcommittee:

Thank you for presenting us with this opportunity to discuss issues relating to international broadcasting. You will hear today from several distinguished colleagues -- David Burke, Chairman of the *Broadcasting Board of Governors*, Geoff Cowan, Director of the *International Broadcasting Bureau* and Richard Richter, Chairman of the newly formed *Asia Pacific Network*.

The *Broadcasting Board of Governors* exercises primary oversight over these activities. Before Mr. Burke makes his presentation, I would like, briefly, to say something about the role of broadcasting today with respect to our international relations and the way in which my colleagues and I approach our responsibility for it.

The history of the 20th century shows clearly that broadcasting is a medium of tremendous power -- for both good and evil -- and of incalculable consequences. Broadcasting to the world as part of a U.S. Government funded operation and on behalf of our official foreign relations policy makes this responsibility even more sobering today than in the past. The mission of broadcasting in a world made new by major political, social and technological change is one which my colleagues and I take very seriously, Mr. Chairman. We are aware that we are exploring the demands, restrictions and opportunities of this new era.

I recall that Edward R. Murrow once offered this admonition to his colleagues: *"Just because you speak in a voice loud enough to be heard over [radio or] television by 16 million people, that doesn't make you any smarter than you were when you spoke loudly enough to be heard only at the end of the bar."*

I want to pay tribute to my colleagues here at the table -- as well as to all of the men and women who work so ably with them -- for their achievements and accomplishments. We have behind us now the consolidation of international broadcasting -- carried off with no disruption in service and at a great savings to the American taxpayer. Kevin Klose deserves major credit now that RL/RFE is operating in Prague, a move accomplished on time and under budget.

The Voice of America has made recent numerous innovations in programming: reaching into areas where news reporting is restricted by governments and long cultural traditions; trying to defuse crises; adding global call-in shows and live television simulcasts; and seeking and participating in new, creative and effective broadcasting cooperation with the private sector. Geoff Cowan has continued the leadership tradition of the Voice of America by exploring and implementing new opportunities in a number of areas. All of this has been done, needless to say, with less and less money.

Precisely because resources are scarce, and because we are stewards of a powerful news and foreign affairs instrument, we must be very clear about the potential of broadcasting as well as its limitations. For spreading news and information to a global audience, broadcasting has no equal. No other medium can disseminate so rapidly information about America and Americans to millions of people around the world. Radio and television can leap borders, often evade jammers and bring accurate reporting about the world to men and women whose own governments often deny them such knowledge.

Broadcasting, in the right hands, can counter the "hate" programming of stations that are in the wrong hands. Broadcasting can and does inform and assist in humanitarian crises.

Broadcasting, however, is not a panacea. Budgets do not permit - and the American interest does not require -- that we blanket the world with continuous broadcasts. Nor is more broadcasting necessarily the answer to any trouble that arises. There are no hard and fast, universal rules to tell us what to broadcast, when and where. As David Burke has rightly said on several occasions, these are issues and decisions that have to be "lived out" in the everyday work of serving the mandates of leaders in the Congress and the Executive branch of our government. Men and women of good will, protective of the credibility of our broadcast services and always mindful of the good of our country, work out these issues each day.

I would like to conclude with a brief comment about the state of the relationship between senior officials of USIA, the Broadcasting Board of Governors and the management of the

International Broadcasting Bureau. The International Broadcasting Act of 1994 was, to say the least, less than precise about the relationship between the Director of USIA and the Chairman of the Broadcasting Board of Governors. While many have complained of this "murkiness" -- I among them -- it may turn out to have been not such a bad thing after all. It has, in fact, required all of us to come together to thrash out the central issues of the relationship, such as the independence of journalists and the need to reflect the priorities of American national interest and American foreign policy. These are complex and perplexing issues. I believe however, Mr. Chairman, that we have so far, with candor and good faith exchanges, done a pretty good job of making this relationship work.

I thank you for your attention and look forward to answering any questions you may have.

PREPARED STATEMENT
DAVID BURKE
CHAIRMAN, BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS
UNITED STATES INFORMATION AGENCY
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
AND HUMAN RIGHTS
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1996

Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, I'm pleased to be here today, with my colleagues, USIA Director Joe Duffey, International Broadcasting Bureau Director Geoffrey Cowan, RFE/RL President Kevin Klose, Asia Pacific Network President Dick Richter, and Dr. Rolando Bonachea, Acting Director, Office of Cuba Broadcasting.

The bipartisan Broadcasting Board of Governors was established within the United States Information Agency by the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (P.L. 104-236). My colleagues and I are authorized to direct and supervise all federally funded, non-military, international broadcasting activities in accordance with the standards and principles contained in the Act. These activities include the Voice of America, WORLDNET television, Radio and Television Marti, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, and the newly-established Asia Pacific Network. Since the BBG was confirmed by the Senate, last August, we have worked aggressively to implement the provisions of the Broadcasting Act.

The Broadcasting Act mandated the reorganization and consolidation of the broadcasting services in order to achieve important economies, while preserving and enhancing our capacity to support U.S. national interests abroad. Because Director Duffey, Geoff Cowan and his predecessor, Joe Bruns, Kevin Klose, and their fine staffs took this mandate seriously, the budgetary and programmatic impact has been dramatic.

The consolidation has saved over \$400 million during the period 1994-1997, including annual operational savings of \$30 million from the consolidation of VOA and RFE/RL engineering. We have reduced our staff by 1496 positions, or 31%. We have cut over 400 direct broadcast programming hours via IBB-owned or leased transmitters per week, particularly to Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. We have also closed - or are closing - five relay stations, closed news bureaus, and reduced funding for travel and the number of stringers. Our 1997 request of \$365 million is 25% lower than the 1994 appropriation of \$487 million.

These cuts have not been painless. We have lost some good reporters. We have had to limit programming and reduce funding for travel to cover major events. In fact, without a Carnegie Corporation grant we would not have been able to send reporters to Central Africa. We have difficulty broadcasting to Libya in medium wave because none of our existing medium wave transmitters can be heard in North Africa. There is little doubt that it will be difficult to absorb additional cuts without sacrificing our ability to meet our vital mission.

The consolidation has also brought about unprecedented cooperation among the broadcast elements. The VOA and RFE/RL have, for the first time, coordinated their schedules so that they are not competing for the same listeners at the same times of the day. Just recently, VOA and Radio Liberty broadcast a joint bridge from Russia on the nuclear arms conference. The VOA and WORLDNET are co-producing programs, such as a call-in show in Spanish, a talk show in Arabic, and the Window on America program to the Ukraine.

This is where we have been. Now I would like to talk about our future challenges. We have refocused our mission and redirected our resources away from Cold War priorities to East Asia, Africa, and the Middle East.

-- With the 1995 funding approved by Congress, VOA significantly enhanced its programming to East Asia.

-- The newly-established Asia Pacific Network (Radio Free Asia) will allow us to increase our role throughout the East Asia region. The BBG submitted the feasibility plan for APN/RFA to Congress in November, 1995. Richard Richter, a veteran journalist and producer with more than 25 years experience with CBS, ABC, and public television, was appointed president of the newly-incorporated service in mid-March. He immediately began recruiting his senior management team, which includes Vice President of Programming and Executive Editor Daniel Southerland, who has more than 20 years experience as a correspondent in China and Southeast Asia with the Washington Post, Christian Science Monitor, and UPI. You will hear more from Dick momentarily.

-- Our medium wave Kuwait relay station, with a 600kW transmitter, began operations on May 17, with an AM transmitter twelve times more powerful than the largest in the U.S.

-- In Africa, VOA has reconfigured the Amharic Service to include Oromigna and Tigrigna, and with funding assistance from USAID, VOA began an enhanced daily Portuguese to Africa broadcast to Angola.

Recent programming highlights include:

-- VOA English and Mandarin correspondents provided in-depth and up-to-the minute coverage from Beijing and Taipei on Harry Wu, the Taiwan elections, and the Chinese military missile tests conducted in the Taiwan Straits.

-- Cuban citizens heard on Radio Marti and VOA Spanish about the banning of a human rights conference of 130 organizations and the jailing of many of its leaders. Radio Marti increased its signal strength and saturation in response to the subsequent shooting down of two private U.S. planes.

-- In the Middle East, extremists seek to promote international terrorism and Radio Iran's external service promotes anti-American sentiments by broadcasting twice as many hours in twice as many languages as VOA. International broadcasting is increasing its resources and its audience and VOA Arabic and Farsi services are responding with an accurate and balanced portrait of the U.S.

-- VOA and RFE/RL reach 25% of the population in Bosnia's four largest cities with news and information weekly where hate radio helped to foment ethnic hatred and warfare - leading to terrible destruction.

-- In Central Africa, where hate radio helped to create the genocide in Rwanda and over 500,000 people were brutally murdered, VOA was credited by the leader of Human Rights Africa with providing information that saved lives. The NSC and State Department have asked VOA to enhance its broadcast services to help prevent a recurrence of this genocide.

-- In Haiti, where the population, striving to maintain a fragile democracy, hears unvarnished news and information on VOA's Creole service, which has been instrumental in U.S. Government democracy-building and privatization efforts on the island.

-- A WORLDNET and VOA simulcast, Conversemos En Esta Noche, is a live weekly call-in show designed to provide information on the U.S. to Latin American TV viewers and radio listeners.

We are delivering our programming in a variety of media to meet the needs of our audience. We are changing our transmission structure to build a world-wide affiliate network. International broadcasting now includes AM, FM, cable networks, direct broadcast satellites, and the Internet. The VOA and RFE/RL have over 1300 affiliate stations in some 96 countries, and WORLDNET television reaches millions of homes every day on cable systems worldwide. U.S. international broadcasting has a vast and almost unequalled global reach.

We are also listening more closely to our audience. This includes giving the audience more information with less effort, because survey research indicates that people are spending less time looking for sources of information. We have also introduced innovative call-in programming, including the first international daily call-in show, allowing American experts and decision-makers to communicate with our audience directly. And this has paid off -- recent audience surveys indicate very promising trends.

In Haiti, VOA has, by far, the largest audience for any international broadcaster in Haiti. In Nigeria, VOA English has an audience share of 16% and 9% of the adults listen to VOA Hausa. In Ethiopia, a 1995 BBC survey showed VOA's listening rate to be 20% of the adult population, more than double that of its closest competitor. And thanks to affiliates, VOA enjoy audiences of up to 30% of the adult population in six francophone nations -- Mali, Senegal, Burkina Faso, Madagascar, Mauritius, and Niger. Most recently, the largest foreign media survey ever conducted in China shows that VOA has an overall weekly audience larger than BBC's and considerably larger than that of Radio Television Hong Kong and NHK of Japan.

We will devote more resources to stay better attuned to our audience needs. Our FY 1997 budget request includes an enhancement of \$1 million dedicated to audience research designed to define our audience and improve our programming.

We have been heartened by recent domestic editorial support and audience mail from abroad. Our listeners believe we serve a vital purpose and often let us know the impact we have had on their lives. The leader of Human Rights Africa wrote "during the genocide in Rwanda, the Voice of America provided information that actually saved lives."

The Charge d'Affaires from the Embassy of Rwanda said,

"Without VOA's coverage of Rwanda, no matter how small or sporadic, the world would have been made to believe that no genocide was taking place in Rwanda.

Rwanda is now recovering steadily. We hope that VOA can let the world know this, too. We appreciate your service."

A listener from Pakistan wrote,

"The Pakistani radio and television have been under government control from the very beginning. To expect any objectivity from them in news reporting is futile (it is like expecting milk from a bull). Therefore, to get the correct picture, we turn to the Voice of America. We listen to you out of necessity and you do us a great favor by objective reporting and by putting together your program with such dedication and professional expertise."

So we know we are making a difference.

VOA went on the air in 1942, in an effort to counter Nazi propaganda. We believed then, and we believe today that credibility is our most important asset, and that, over the long haul, the truth as heard and seen on international broadcasting is critical to U.S. foreign policy. International broadcasting is essential in places as diverse as China, Cuba, Bosnia, Central Africa, and Iran. The U. S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 reaffirmed the importance of our mission: contributing to international peace and stability; advancing the goals of United States foreign policy; and supporting freedom and democracy in a rapidly changing international environment.

Mr. Chairman, we are very aware of the strong support this Subcommittee has shown international broadcasting, especially in this extremely difficult fiscal climate. We appreciate it greatly.

This concludes my statement; I would be glad to answer any questions the Subcommittee may have.

PREPARED STATEMENT
MR. GEOFFREY COWAN
DIRECTOR, VOICE OF AMERICA
AND
DIRECTOR, INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BUREAU
BEFORE THE
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS
AND HUMAN RIGHTS
TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1996

MR. CHAIRMAN, Members of the Committee, thank you for the opportunity to participate in these important hearings on international broadcasting. With your permission, I would like to submit my full testimony for the record.

I am delighted to have this opportunity to testify to your committee. This is a particularly important occasion for me, since I will be leaving government service in a few months, and I am pleased to have this chance to share some observations with you after more than two years as Director of the Voice of America, and about six months as Director of the International Broadcasting Bureau.

International broadcasting, and particularly the Voice of America, is an invaluable national asset. When it was started in 1942, it was designed to help defeat the Nazis by countering their lies with a voice of truth, hope, and inspiration. During the Cold War, it brought millions of listeners the truth about the world, and an understanding of American values. Without overstating the point, I think it is fair to say that the VOA helped to win World War II and that it, along with RFE/RL, helped to end the Cold War. But I do not think the taxpayers should support international broadcasting because of what it accomplished in the past. The question for this committee is whether -- and in what form -- to support it in the future.

In my view, international broadcasting today is as important -- and in some respects more important -- than ever before. Following a clear mandate from the Administration and Congress, which passed the International Broadcasting Act of 1994, and with the leadership of the U.S.I.A. and, now, the Broadcasting Board of Governors, we have made drastic cuts in our budget, consolidated all of our engineering functions, and shifted our priorities, with a greater focus on East Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. Those changes are described in a document that we are distributing to the committee. But while we have changed, I believe that democratic ideals and accurate information remain a vital and rare commodity in much of the world today.

Our importance is perhaps best illustrated by our role in combatting international terrorism. As Shimon Peres noted two years ago, international broadcasting, led by VOA, can be the most important tool in the effort to block the advance of international terrorism, since such terrorism rests, in large measure, on propagandistic misinformation about America and the West. One exceptionally important instrument in America's war against terrorism went into operation two months ago -- a 600 kilowatt medium wave AM transmitter in Kuwait. With twelve times the power of the strongest station inside the United States, it is a powerful force in Iraq and Iran, where VOA's Arabic and Farsi services already had large audiences. As evidence of the station's importance, I am attaching copies of statements from Iran's media, as well as an article from the *Los Angeles Times* and an editorial from the *Wall Street Journal*.

To pick one example from the headlines, the VOA has the unique capacity to help American law enforcement authorities track down terrorists -- as well as drug dealers and other international criminals. On the international scene, we can perform the role performed in this country by "America's Most Wanted" or "Unsolved Mysteries." Because we have a worldwide mission,

and communicate with people in their own languages, we can reach possible sources of information in every corner of the world. We are broadcasting a special editorial this week on the effort to find those who killed our troops in Saudi Arabia last month. This is part of our work to publicize the State Department's counter-terrorism rewards program. Working with the Justice Department, we will soon begin a new program that will identify major international fugitives wanted by the U.S.

The war against international terrorism is only one of the ways in which international broadcasting is currently making a unique, vital -- and cost effective -- contribution to America's long-term interests in the world. To cite just a few others:

- **Democracy and Human Rights in China** -- Thanks to years of hard work and accurate reporting, VOA has built up the largest audience of any international broadcaster in China, including the BBC. We have built that audience despite jamming -- or "technical interference" -- because of the range and strength of our transmitters, and because of the excellence and importance of our programming.

Our huge audience has come to rely on us for inspiration about democracy, human rights, and the rule of law, as well as the truth about what's happening in America, the world, and China. Two years ago, President Clinton announced that he was delinking MFN and human rights. He stressed his support for Radio Free Asia, and he announced that VOA would increase its radio broadcasts to the region, and start a new VOA radio program simulcast on television. Both VOA efforts have proved hugely popular. The television-radio simulcast, which is exceptionally difficult to jam because it is delivered by direct broadcast satellite, has a call-in component, in which one in five calls is from a TV viewer.

We get literally thousands of letters every month that testify to our importance in China. Many are inspirational, describing the ways in which VOA has taught listeners English and educated them about such subjects as medicine, while keeping alive their faith and belief in democracy and human rights. One of the most poignant such letters was sent to Chairman Smith. We only learned of it by reading a "Dear Colleague" letter that the Chairman distributed. With your permission, I would like to quote from that letter: "I heard a report on VOA about your concern over China's cruel policy of forced abortion. As a Chinese woman who had just been forced to have an abortion at that time, I really agree with you. What is a real woman without the personal right to have one more child, especially when she is expecting a baby and is obliged to kill it no matter how unwilling? If we don't have the right even to give birth to a baby, what's the use of any other rights?"

When Harry Wu was jailed by Chinese authorities last year, VOA carried daily accounts of his plight and appeals for his release, which came to be known as the "Wu Watch." Several months ago, Harry Wu stopped by VOA. I think it was more than symbolic that his visit coincided with a day in which we were celebrating press freedom. Because, of course, when people in China want to understand Harry Wu and what he has been

concerned with, and why America cares about people like Harry Wu, they learn it from the Voice of America.

● **Tibet / Vital Medicine** -- The Dalai Lama has called VOA's Tibetan language service a "vital medicine" for the Tibetan people. His office says VOA "is the only independent source of news for the Tibetan-speaking areas of the world. In contrast to the Chinese propaganda through their official media channels, the VOA's news and other features help to give new hopes and inspirations to our people inside Tibet." The Tibetan Youth Congress says that since 1990, when Voice of America began its Tibetan broadcasts, "VOA has become the household name for the Tibetans both inside and outside Tibet." Those letters are attached.

● **U.S.-Sino Relations** -- Chinese listeners learn about U.S.-Sino relations -- from concern over Taiwan to intellectual property rights -- not only from U.S. policy makers, but from other well-known Americans, including entertainer Garth Brooks. In an appearance on VOA's live, worldwide call-in show, a listener in China asked Brooks why he didn't have any scheduled concerts in China. In diplomatic but blunt terms, Brooks explained that he and other American musicians earned their paychecks from the sale of CDs. Dozens of factories in China, he said, produced pirate copies of those CDs, in effect stealing money from American workers. Until the problem is resolved, Brooks concluded, he won't perform in China. In March 1996, the Chinese fired missiles and conducted live-fire exercises in the Taiwan Strait. Secretary of State Warren Christopher characterized the actions as "reckless" and "risky." A VOA editorial quoted National Security Advisor Anthony Lake as saying if Chinese forces "attack Taiwan, there will be grave consequences. It's important that China not miscalculate." VOA was able to quickly relay White House concerns directly to those involved.

● **Elections in Bosnia** -- In two months, the people of Bosnia will hold a vital election. But as members of this committee are well aware, Bosnia's media are, for the most part, controlled by political factions. Equally important, 840,000 potential voters (possibly one-half the total) are now refugees, living outside of Bosnia. Hundreds of thousands are in Germany and Scandinavia. It is important that they vote -- but how will they learn about the election procedures, the issues, and the candidates? Again, international broadcasting -- in this case, both VOA and RFE/RL -- has a vital and unique ability to reach these people -- in languages that they understand, and through radio and television signals that can reach refugees everywhere in the world. In the past month, VOA has opened an office in Sarajevo, increased the number of stringer reports from Bosnia, doubled its broadcasts to the region in the Bosnian language, and stepped up its on-the-ground presence with English language and vernacular correspondents. With the committee's permission, I would like to attach a brief description of what we are doing for the elections, and a few articles on the subject.

● **Illegal Immigration** -- A few months ago, when rafters started to come to the United States illegally from Cuba, Radio Marti and VOA became the key sources of information about the ways in which they would be treated if they tried to enter the country. Similarly, with a Creole listenership in Haiti of more than 30%, VOA was able to broadcast news, information, and

announcements that helped to stop the flow of rafters from that country before it began. IBB's role led the *San Diego Union*, which follows immigration matters closely, to write an editorial praising VOA and Worldnet broadcasters, along with the increase in border patrol agents, as the best weapon in the fight against illegal immigration. The editorial is attached.

● **Cuban Crackdown** -- Fidel Castro has initiated an intense crackdown on human rights groups, the press, and political dissidents over the past few months, making it even more difficult for Cubans to get accurate information on what's happening in their own country and around the world. Simultaneously, Castro increased jamming of Radio Marti, which enjoys a huge audience in Cuba. President Clinton responded by directing the IBB to increase Radio Marti's power, and all reports are that Radio Marti's broadcasts are clear as ever. Because of USG funded broadcasting, Cubans still have access to the truth.

● **Burmese Media** -- The status of pro-democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi is an on-going story at Voice of America. The government intermittently jams VOA Burmese language transmissions because they present a full and fair picture of events inside Burma as well as the world's reaction to these events. As the Associated Press reported on March 18, the Burmese press continues its harsh criticism of VOA broadcasts on a daily basis. But these efforts to quell listenership have proven ineffective. In a recent survey, Radio Australia found that 39% of Burma's elite regularly listens to VOA.

● **Central Africa** -- When genocide wiped out some 500,000 people in Rwanda two years ago, the world stood by in horror, unable to help. America couldn't send troops to stanch the bloodshed. But through VOA, we did send information and ideas. According to leaders of Human Rights Watch/Africa and of indigenous Rwandan human rights groups, VOA's broadcasts to the region actually saved lives. I'm attaching letters from those organizations to this testimony. This year, as events in Burundi make a second round of genocide seem possible, the State Department and NSC have asked us to increase our broadcasts to the region, and to start a special language service designed to reach those people who speak only Kirundi and Kinyarwanda. With funding from USAID, that language service will go on the air next week.

I could give you dozens of similar examples -- from Russia to Nigeria to Korea -- of the ways in which USG funded international broadcasting is helping people prevent violence and learn about the value -- and the ways to build -- democratic institutions and free markets. For 50 years, we have been a beacon to the world -- a voice that promises listeners everywhere that wherever they live, and whatever language they speak, there are people who care -- and there are ways for them to build a better future. In my view, we are one of the best investments that this committee, and this country, can make in the future of America and the world. I am attaching editorials and "think-tank" papers that make the same point, including eloquent statements from the *Wall Street Journal*, *Washington Times*, and Heritage Foundation. President Clinton has often stressed the importance that he attaches to the Voice of America, which he said, "serves on the front lines of democracy all around the world from Burma to the Balkans." The President's proposed

FY '97 budget is an effort to keep us going without further reductions. Even so, it represents a cut of more than 25% from FY '94. We play an invaluable role; there is no way that a private organization can do what we do -- in China, Bosnia, or in Africa; and, if we go away, we will not be replaced.

Since this is a non-partisan issue, let me quote from a speech that former Senator Bob Dole delivered 10 days ago. He said that the world remains a dangerous place, and while the United States can't be the world's policeman, we can't "just turn off the porch light." Members of this committee, as I prepare to leave this great institution, I want to leave you with the thought that, for millions and millions around the world, the Voice of America is this country's porch light and, yes, its beacon. We have already turned down the voltage. I implore you not to turn it down any further.

INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING Evolving for New Challenges

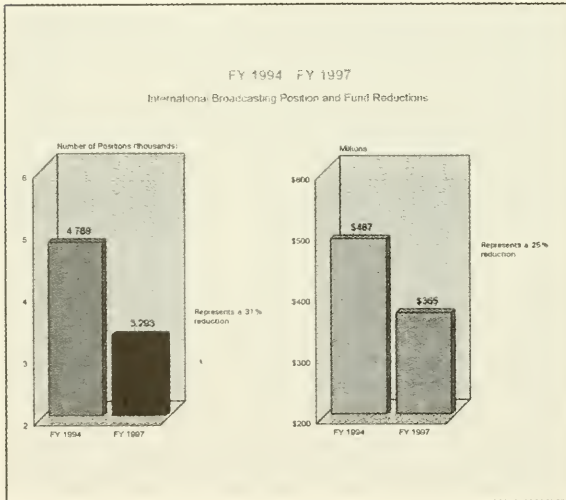
Over the past 54 years, U.S. international broadcasting has earned a reputation for providing up-to-the-minute, accurate, and balanced news and features to its international audience. VOA, WORLDNET, Radio and TV Marti, and RFE/RL reach more than 140 million listeners weekly in their homes and in their languages with reliable, comprehensive news of the United States, their own country, and the world.

U.S. international broadcasters have embraced the challenge of change! In partnership with the President and the Congress, we have cut costs dramatically, while moving forward in bold ways. The emerging organization is leaner and more flexible. The International Broadcasting Act of 1994 created the Broadcasting

Board of Governors (BBG) which for the first time, consolidates the responsibility for all non-military U.S. government international broadcasting, including the USIA's International Broadcasting Bureau (IBB) elements Voice of America, WORLDNET, and Radio and TV Marti; and the independent grantees, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty, Inc. and Asia Pacific Network/Radio Free Asia, Inc.

The consolidation has led to new efficiencies, resulting in **savings of over \$400 million during the period 1994-1997**, including:

- the staff of international broadcasting has been reduced by 1496 positions (31%);
- over 400 direct broadcast programming hours via IBB-owned or leased shortwave and medium wave transmitters per week have been eliminated (about 24%); and
- five (5) relay stations (Bethany, Gloria, Biblis, Maxoqueira, and Holzkirchen shortwave) have been --or are being-- closed.



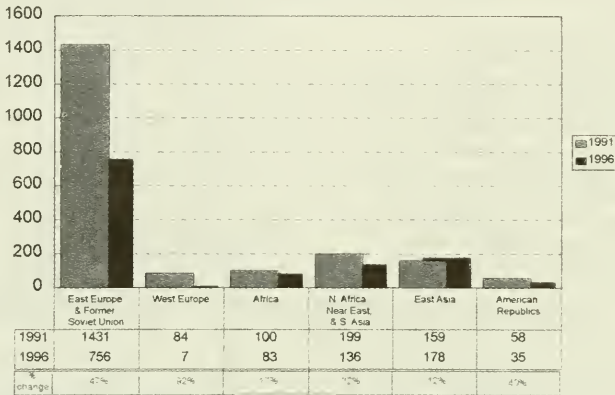
The budget savings are dramatic: the 1997 request of \$365 million is 25% lower than the 1994 appropriation of \$487 million.

More flexibility to meet changing priorities. The end of the Cold War and the upsurge of regional conflicts and terrorism have increased international broadcasting's focus on Asia, the Middle East, and Africa.

Broadcasting hours have been increased to these regions and relay stations have been closed in Europe to make way for the opening of new stations in Africa, the Middle East and Asia. From the various crises in China and Korea to the tragic ethnic conflicts in the Balkans and Central Africa - international broadcasting is on the scene to serve the U.S. national interest by reporting accurate, balanced news on which people's lives depend.

FY 1991 - FY 1996

International Broadcasting Weekly Hours *
by Region



* Does not include VOA's Worldwide English
1991 includes VOA and RFE/RL broadcasts via RFE/RL and VOA owned/leased transmitters
1996 includes VOA and RFE/RL broadcasts via IBS owned/leased transmitters

In the past year, the broadcasters responded to crisis situations in:

--*China*, where VOA English and Mandarin correspondents provided in-depth and up-to-the minute coverage from Beijing and Taipei on Harry Wu, the Taiwan elections, and the Chinese military missile tests conducted in the Taiwan Straits.

--*Cuba*, where the citizens heard on Radio and TV Marti and VOA Spanish about the recent banning of a human rights conference of 130 organizations and the jailing of many of its leaders. Radio and TV Marti increased its signal strength and saturation in response to the subsequent shooting down of two private U.S. planes.

--*Russia*, where the importance of maintaining RL's and VOA's shortwave capability is once again highlighted during the period culminating with the presidential election on June 16. Affiliates have been harassed allegedly for airing VOA and RL programs. The Christian Science Monitor recently noted: "...only Yeltsin and Zyuganov get face time with the media. Other candidates...are almost entirely ignored by the national media." To fill

this void, RL and VOA are offering extensive and balanced coverage of election issues and candidates throughout the country.

--*The Middle East*, where extremists seek to promote international terrorism and Radio Iran's external service promotes anti-American sentiments by broadcasting twice as many hours in twice as many languages as VOA. International broadcasting is increasing its resources and its audience and VOA Arabic and Farsi services are responding with an accurate and balanced portrait of the U.S.

--*Bosnia*, where hate radio helped to foment ethnic hatred and warfare - leading to terrible destruction. VOA and RFE/RL reach 25% of the population in Bosnia's four largest cities with news and information weekly.

--*Central Africa*, where hate radio helped to create the genocide in Rwanda and over 500,000 people were brutally murdered, VOA was credited by the leader of Human Rights Africa with providing information that saved lives. The NSC and State Department have asked VOA to create new broadcast services to help prevent a recurrence of this genocide.

--*Haiti*, where the population, striving to maintain a fragile democracy, hears unvarnished news and information on VOA's Creole service, which has been instrumental in U.S. Government democracy-building and privatization efforts on the island.



Our audience is listening to us and we are listening to our audience. As the listening habits of our audience change, we are maximizing the opportunities to reach them at the relevant times, with a relevant message, and on the relevant media. As shortwave listenership declines in some parts of the world, we have greatly expanded our network to reach our audiences over AM, FM, cable networks, direct broadcast satellites, and the Internet. The VOA and RFE/RL have over 1300 affiliates in some 96 countries, giving U.S. international broadcasting a vast and almost unequaled global reach. WORLDNET television reaches millions of homes every

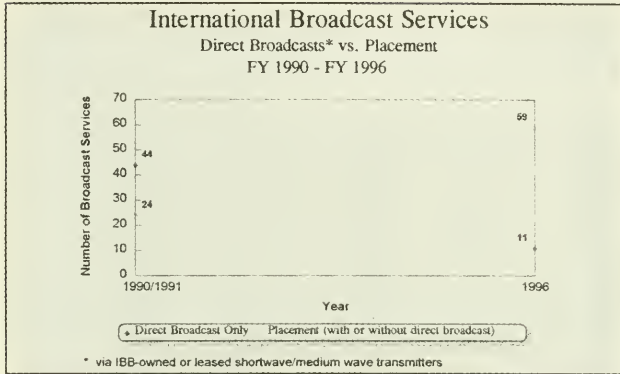
decision-makers to communicate directly with our audience.

Recent audience surveys indicate very promising trends. For example, the BBC reports that more than 16% of the adults in Nigeria regularly listen to VOA, an increase of 50% since 1989. In Haiti, according to a 1995 USIA survey, 37% of the adults of Port-au-Prince and Cap Haitien listen to VOA at least once a week. This is, by far, the largest audience for any international broadcaster in Haiti. Most recently, the largest foreign media survey ever conducted in China shows that VOA has

an overall weekly audience larger than BBC and considerably larger than that of Radio Television Hong Kong and NHK of Japan. The VOA Mandarin Service alone receives over 4,000 letters per month.

As directed by Congress, in the future, we will devote more resources than

ever on research to stay better attuned to our audience needs. Our FY 97 budget request includes an enhancement of \$1 million dedicated to audience research designed to define our audience and improve our programming.



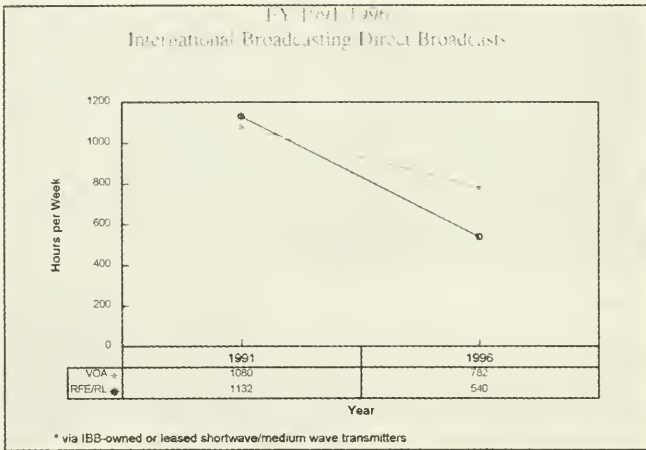
day on cable systems worldwide.

International broadcasting is constantly improving its programming to meet its audience's needs. This includes giving the audience more information with less effort because survey research indicates that people are spending less time looking for sources of information. We have also introduced innovative call-in programming, including the first international daily call-in show, allowing American experts and

Looking to the future. New digital technology will virtually redefine broadcasting in the future. The conversion to digital technology is well underway and will be completed by 2000. The use of affiliates, direct broadcasts from satellites, and the Internet increases our flexibility. The VOA gopher site on the Internet has been called one of the five best by PC World Magazine. The VOA World Wide Web site (<http://www.voa.gov/>) will be launched shortly.

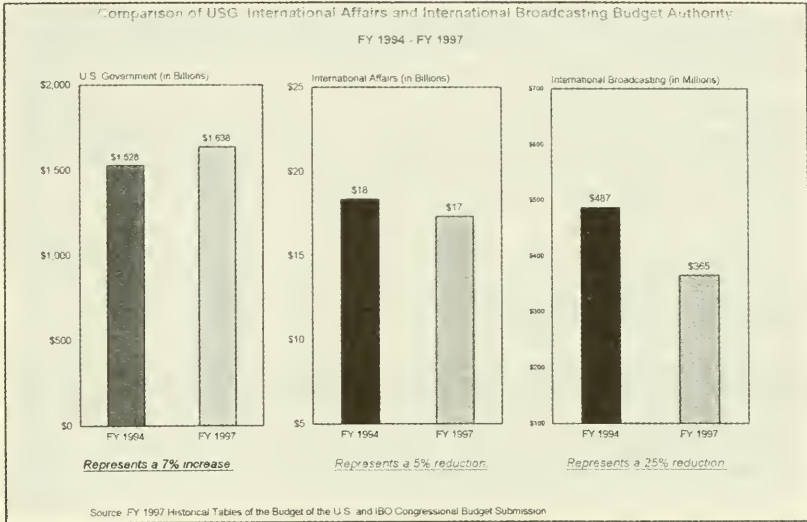
The U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994, passed with bi-partisan support, consolidated all international broadcasting under the BBG. The change has brought about unprecedented cooperation between the broadcast elements. The VOA and RFE/RL have, for the first time,

coordinated their schedules so that they are not competing for the same listeners at the same times of the day. The consolidation has led to dramatic reductions in VOA and RFE/RL staff and programming hours in the Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union. All engineering and technical operations of the IBB and RFE/RL have been consolidated, saving tens of millions of dollars. The VOA and WORLDNET are co-producing programs, such as a call-in show in Spanish, a talk show in Arabic, and the Window on America program to the Ukraine. Starting this summer, the Asia Pacific Network/Radio Free Asia, Inc. will provide a new surrogate service, utilizing existing IBB resources wherever it is appropriate.



More than any other foreign affairs agency, the U.S. international broadcasters have taken reorganization seriously. From 1994 to 1997, while the U.S. Government budget has grown 7% and the International Affairs account has decreased 5%, international broadcasting's budget has decreased 25%.

We are striving to give U.S. taxpayers the most efficient international broadcasting organization, working to accomplish our Congressionally-mandated mission. At the same time, we are striving to give our listeners the best and most accessible programming to meets their informational needs.



"U.S., Britain step up broadcasting" from IRAN BRIEF, Issue No. 23, June 3, 1996. IRAN BRIEF is a monthly newsletter mailed to subscribers.

U.S., BRITAIN, STEP UP BROADCASTING

The US and Britain have stepped up Farsi-language broadcasts into Iran in recent weeks, in moves that have prompted swift and bitter reactions from the Islamic Republic. And in an unprecedented move, Britain's Minister of Defense Nicholas Soames issued a stern public warning to Iran during a May 28 visit to the UAE.

The Voice of America inaugurated a powerful new 600 kW medium wave transmitter in Kuwait last month, capable of reaching listeners throughout Iran using cheap car radios or transistors.

At the same time, the Farsi language Service of the BBC has stepped up its short-wave broadcasts into Iran, after a recent trip to Tehran by a senior BBC official who found the existing signal too weak to pick up.

Inaugurating the new transmitter at a ceremony in Washington DC on May 17, VOA Director Geoffrey Cowan said: "Information is a powerful weapon. So if getting information to people in Iran about democracy and human rights and about what's happening inside their country and in the world makes a difference politically, then this will be a transmitter of tremendous importance."

The official reaction in Tehran was furious. "We cannot tolerate that the US uses this transmitter against us, and we are sure the Kuwaiti authorities won't tolerate these kinds of acts, which damage our good relations." Majlis [parliament] speaker Nateq-Nouri told Tehran Radio on May 20.

The radical Jomhuri-e Eslami daily took off the gloves, directly attacking Kuwaiti ruler Sheikh Jabir al-Ahmad al-Jabir al-Sabah. In an article titled "Emir's Ungratefulness," the paper said: "The least thing we can do now is to install a radio station in southern Iran and let the Emir's opponents run it. Sheikh Jabir's behavior is a sign of his continued hostility toward our revolution and the Islamic Republic order."

20/05/96 11-270

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*BC-IRAN-KUWAIT

*TEHRAN PAPER LAMBASTS NEW U.S. RADIO TRANSMITTER IN KUWAIT

*BY AFSHIN VALINEJAD

*ASSOCIATED PRESS WRITER

TEHRAN, IRAN (AP) - A NEWSPAPER MONDAY CALLED FOR A WAR OF THE AIRWAVES WITH KUWAIT FOR ALLOWING CONSTRUCTION OF A POWERFUL TRANSMITTER THAT BOOSTS U.S. RADIO PROGRAMMING TO IRAN AND IRAQ.

INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSMITTER SHOULD BE REGARDED AS A KIND OF COLLABORATION BY THIS SHEIKDOM WITH THE UNITED STATES IN PURSUIT OF ITS HOSTILITY AGAINST THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC, SA THE HARD-LINE JOMHURI ISLAMI DAILY SAID.

IT ADDED THAT THE LEAST TEHRAN COULD DO IN RETALIATION WAS TO LET KUWAITI DISSIDENTS SET UP A RADIO STATION IN SOUTHERN IRAN THAT WOULD BEAM SIGNALS INTO KUWAIT.

THE EDITORIAL COINCIDED WITH THE VISIT OF KUWAIT'S PARLIAMENT SPEAKER, AHMED AL-SAADOUN, WHO ARRIVED IN TEHRAN ON SATURDAY.

IT WAS NOT KNOWN WHETHER THE TRANSMITTER FIGURED IN AL-SAADOUN'S TALKS WITH IRANIAN OFFICIALS.

LAST WEEK THE UNITED STATES INAUGURATED A POWERFUL 600-KILOWATT RADIO TRANSMITTER, FOR USE PRIMARILY BY THE VOICE OF AMERICA. THE TRANSMITTER IS BEAMING JAM-PROOF SIGNALS AS FAR AWAY AS CENTRAL ASIA.

LISTENERS IN IRAN AND IRAQ, THE TWO REGIONAL COUNTRIES WASHINGTON IDENTIFIES AS MOST HOSTILE TO ITS INTERESTS, WILL NO LONGER NEED SHORTWAVE RADIOS, MAKING U.S. PROGRAMS AVAILABLE ON HOME AND CAR RADIOS.

BUT TEHRAN STILL HAS THE UPPER HAND IN THE WAR OF THE AIRWAVES IT LAUNCHED IN 1979 TO EXPORT ITS ISLAMIC REVOLUTION.

ITS OWN VOICE OF THE ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN BEAMS PROGRAMS IN 21 LANGUAGES, INCLUDING ARABIC, USING TRANSMITTERS MORE THAN TWICE AS POWERFUL AS THE ONE IN KUWAIT.

TARGETING THE GULF ARAB COUNTRIES, THE IRAN ALSO WAS AMONG THE FIRST COUNTRIES IN THE REGION TO BEAM RADIO AND TELEVISION PROGRAMS VIA SATELLITE.

THE FARSI-LANGUAGE JOMHURI ISLAMI SAID INSTALLATION OF THE TRANSMITTER IS AN ADVANTAGE GAINED BY THE UNITED STATES IN PURSUIT OF ITS REGIONAL GOALS, AMONG WHICH THE MOST IMPORTANT IS ITS CONFRONTATION WITH THE ISLAMIC REVOLUTION. SA

* (AF-MDM)

20/05/96 11-270

U.S. Making Radio Waves in Mideast

■ **Broadcasting:** Powerful new transmitter in Kuwait is aimed at undermining Iraq, Iran regimes.

By ROBIN WRIGHT
TIMES STAFF WRITER

WASHINGTON—The United States will power up a new tool in its campaign to undermine the regimes in Iran and Iraq with the inauguration today of a radio transmitter in Kuwait that is 12 times more powerful than any allowed to operate in the U.S.

Economic sanctions, political isolation and a strong U.S. military presence in the region have failed to significantly alter the governments in either Tehran or Baghdad. To turn up the heat, the United States is now trying to appeal directly to local populations to promote political change.

"Information is a powerful weapon," said Geoffrey Cowan, director of the Voice of America (VOA). "It's always been true that the word is more powerful than the sword."

"So if getting information to people in Iran about democracy and human rights and about what's happening inside their country and in the world makes a difference politically, then this will be a transmitter of tremendous importance," he said.

The 800-kilowatt transmitter will be used primarily by the VOA. It will beam signals as far as Central Asia, the Indian subcontinent, the Persian Gulf and the eastern Mediterranean, making U.S. broadcasts available on home and car radios.

The biggest impact will be in Iran and Iraq, where audiences are expected to expand significantly because listeners will no longer need shortwave radios to pick up American broadcasts, U.S. officials said. Transmissions will be impossible to jam.

Iranian broadcasts currently dominate the airwaves in the region, and Washington has been unable to counter those broadcasts, largely due to poor access. The Kuwait facility marks a major breakthrough, because governments in the Persian Gulf long have denied U.S. requests to build such a medium-wave relay station.

The United States still will not outgun Iran. The Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran has 13,500-kilowatt transmitters through which it has been broadcasting in 21 languages—from Arabic to Uzbek, English to Russian—for twice as many hours as the United States, according to the World Radio TV Handbook.

In contrast, the VOA will broadcast from Kuwait in six languages, mainly English, Arabic and Persian, the primary language of Iran.

Iran's programming has long been considered by U.S. and Persian Gulf region intelligence services to be a primary means for exporting its Islamic message. It has a wide following, particularly among Shiite Muslims in the Arabian Peninsula, Iraq, Lebanon and Persian-speakers in Central Asia.

Alarm about Tehran's capabilities led Sen. Alfonse M. D'Amato (R-N.Y.) to introduce legislation last year to establish Radio Free Iran as a counterpart to Radio Free Europe. The bill, now being reworked, calls for broadcasts largely of political news about Iran and the outside world.

Kuwait's decision to allow the transmitter is widely seen as a payoff for U.S. leadership during the 1991 Persian Gulf War that liberated Kuwait from Iraqi occupation. But Kuwait is still uncomfortable about the U.S. facility, U.S. officials said.

The VOA has a significant audience in Iran, where at least 11% of the 64.7-million population listens regularly, according to a 1994 survey conducted for the U.S. Information Agency.

The VOA is also the primary foreign news source in Iraq, where up to 20% of Iraqis are believed to listen frequently, according to Mohammed Ghuneim, director of the VOA Arabic Service. Over the past year, the VOA has significantly increased coverage of the Iraqi opposition, especially since a new movement was launched in neighboring Jordan.

"At the VOA, our aim is not to oust a regime," Ghuneim said. "But we want to make people aware of what is going on, and then it's up to them to change their own systems."

Iraq's regional broadcast capability and its 1,000-kilowatt transmitter were seriously damaged during the Gulf War. But Baghdad recently has begun to rebuild, Ghuneim said.

WSS 5/28/96

A Free Voice

A voice of liberty has gone silent. Willis Conover, the Voice of America disc jockey who broadcast jazz to 30 million regular listeners in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union during the Cold War, died a fortnight ago. But about the same time, the VOA turned on its newest radio transmitter, in Kuwait. Twelve times more powerful than any broadcast station in the United States, it will prove an invaluable source of uncensored information for the oppressed peoples of Iraq and Iran. And if they're lucky, they'll also be treated to a little bit of what Mr. Conover called "the music of freedom" as well.

Thanks to the new 600-kilowatt transmitter, such "decadence"—as Iranian fundamentalists call Western music—will be available to listeners as far away as India and Central Asia on normal home and car radios, and will be impossible to jam. Even though American broadcasts in the region have till now been restricted to short-wave radio, their impact has been tremendous. An estimated 20% of all Iraqis listen frequently to the VOA's Arabic Service, which might explain the instantaneous and widespread, although ultimately fruitless, response to George Bush's call for a popular uprising against Saddam Hussein at the height of the Gulf War. And a 1994 survey showed that about 11% of Iran's nearly 65 million citizens listen regularly as well.

Not surprisingly, then, Iran isn't happy about this development. Yesterday the Tehran daily Jomhuri Islami newspaper called for a war of the airwaves with Kuwait for allowing the construction of the transmitter. "Installation of the transmitter should be regarded as a kind of collaboration by this sheikdom with the United States in pursuit of its hostility against the Islamic Republic," it said, suggesting the creation of a radio station in southern Iran for use by Kuwaiti dissidents.

Iran, however, doesn't need a new transmitter for its campaign of disin-

formation. The American station is dwarfed by the Voice of the Islamic Republic of Iran, which transmits with more than twice as much power and in 21 languages including Uzbek, English and Russian.

What the Iranians must fear, then, is not the power of the broadcast, but the power of the message. And they must know as well that the American faith in freedom of speech and the press has sustained it in wars against the two most powerful totalitarian-propagandist states the world has ever known. As VOA director Geoffrey Cowan put it, "It's always been true that the word is more powerful than the sword."

Unfortunately, it has also always been true that despite their minuscule costs (all U.S. sponsored broadcasting, including VOA, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, Radio Marti for Cuba, and some television stations, will cost a total of \$365 million in 1997, down from \$487 million in 1994), America's radios have been easy targets for would-be budget cutters. They have virtually no domestic constituency, their effectiveness is difficult to measure and it is argued that their importance has diminished since the end of the Cold War. Not so. Russia and some of the states of Eastern and Central Europe are still not firmly in democratic hands, and people from Cuba to North Korea and China to the Middle East still have no other reliable source of information.

As much as ever, the U.S. needs the moral courage to declare, as Margaret Thatcher so eloquently put it 10 days ago in Prague, that "the advance of American interests in particular, and the West's in general, have been more or less synonymous with the advance of liberty." During an era in which America's official diplomats seem to be getting pushed around from Damascus to Beijing, continued support for the radios may be the cheapest and most reliable way to send liberty's message.

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CALLERS TO CHINA FORUM TV)FROM SEP. 4,
1995 TO JUNE 17, 1996, FORTY-TWO SHOWS)

Location	Number of Radio Callers	Number of TV Caller
BEIJING	20	12
SHANGHAI	32	14
TIANJIN	5	0
ANHUI	15	0
FUJIAN	19	0
GUANGDONG	20	2
GUANGXI	14	1
JIANGSU	28	7
JIANGXI	12	0
HAINAN	3	0
HEBEI	6	0
HEILONGJIANG	6	0
HENAN	9	5
HUBEI	23	4
HUNAN	19	2
LIAONING	8	1
NEIMENGGU	1	0
SHANDONG	5	2
SHANIXI	4	0
SHANSXI	7	3
SICHUAN	12	3
XINJIANG	2	0
YUNNAN	27	1
ZHEJIANG	28	6
HONG KONG	2	0
TAIWAN	6	1

JAPAN	1	2
INDIA	5	0
PHILIPPINE	1	1
SOUTH KOREA	1	0
GUAM	1	0
SWEDEN	1	0
AUSTRALIA	1	0
TOTAL	344	67

CONSOLIDATED REPORT ON CHINA FORUM TV CALL-IN SHOWS (FROM SEP. 4 TO JUNE 17, 1995, FORTY-TWO SHOWS,)

SEPTEMBER 4, 1995: CHINA/AGING Guests: 1) Shifan Zhu, Chair of Department of History, University of Nevada; 2) Xiaoxia Gong, Ph.D. in Sociology, Harvard University.

SEPTEMBER 11, 1995: CHINA'S NATURAL RESOURCES AND ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION Guests: (1) Yegang Wu, Senior Environmental Scientist, South Florida Water Department; 2) Ye Qi, assistant professor of Ecology, Cornell University.

SEPTEMBER 18, 1995: CHINA/EUTHANASIA Guests: 1) Dr. Guodong Fang, Research Associate Professor, University of Pittsburgh Medical School; 2) Mr. Haibin Qi, J.S.D. Candidate, Yale University Law School.

SEPTEMBER 25, 1995: THE FOURTH WOMEN'S CONFERENCE AND THE STATUS OF CHINESE WOMEN Guests: 1) Zhengguo Kang, senior lecturer in the East Asia Language Department, Yale University; 2) Helen Hsia, Chinese Editor and Research Director, Human Rights in China.

OCTOBER 2, 1995: CHINESE TRADITIONAL CULTURE AND ITS POLITICAL REFORM Guests: 1) Xiaosi Yang, Lecture at the department of Philosophy, John Hopkins University; 2) Changsheng Lin, researcher at the Claremont Institute.

OCTOBER 9, 1995: THE IMPACT OF FOREIGN INVESTMENT ON CHINA'S FINANCIAL MARKET Guests: 1) Decheng Zheng, World Bank Consultant, Department of Transitional Economy, Policy Research Bureau; 2) Yan Wang, World Bank Economist, the office of Vice President for East Asia Pacific Region.

OCTOBER 16, 1995: COMPARISON OF THE CRIMINAL TRIAL SYSTEM IN US AND CHINA Guests: 1) Mr. Halbin Qi, J.S. D. Candidate, Yale University Law School and Chairman of the Association of Chinese Legal Professionals in USA; 2) Mr. Guwei Hu, Lawyer practicing in New York.

OCTOBER 23, 1995: PREVIEW ON THE CLINTON-JIANG SUMMIT MEETING Guests: 1) Richard Chu, professor of history, Rochester Science and Technology University; 2) Minxin Pei, assistant professor of political science, Princeton University

OCTOBER 30, 1995: CHINESE MAINLAND AND TAIWAN RELATIONS Guests: 1) Wen-Lang Li, professor of history, Ohio State University and member of Taiwan's Legislative Yuan (KMT); 2) Hsuan Meng, deputy Editor-in-Chief, World Journal.

NOVEMBER 6, 1995: THE BASIC LAW AND HONG KONG'S DEGREE OF SELF GOVERNMENT AFTER 1997 Guests: 1) Jiaqi Yan, visiting scholar at Columbia University, dissident and former director of Political Science studies, the Social Science Academy of China; 2) Alice Sun, Practicing lawyer in California, former assistant professor

of law in the Social Science Academy of China.

NOVEMBER 13 1995: CHINA/DEVELOPMENT OF INLAND PROVINCE Guests:
1) Tianyou Li, Ph.D. of economics, University of Chicago;
2) Yijiang Wang, assistant professor of economics, University of Minnesota

NOVEMBER 20, 1995: APEC MEETING IN OSAKA Guests: 1) Winston Yang, Chairman, department of Asian Studies, Setan Hall University;
2) Shaoguang Wang, assistant professor of political science, Yale University

NOVEMBER 27, 1995: TAIWAN/PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN Alex Tian, VOA China Branch Correspondent in Taipei, briefs on the latest development in the Presidential Campaign in Taiwan Guests: 1) Dr. Ho-l Wu, member of KMT Central Committee and member of the Legislative Yuan, Taiwan; 2) Mr. Changsheng Lin, researcher, Claremont Institute

DECEMBER 4, 1995: THE TAIWAN LEGISLATIVE ELECTION: THE RESULT AND THE IMPACT Guests: 1) Dr. Ho-l Wu, member of Kuomintang (KMT) Central Committee; 2) Winston Dang, Executive director of US East Coast division of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP); 3) Jianxuan Wang, member of Taiwan Legislative Yuan, presidential candidate for New Party.

DECEMBER 11, 1995: CHINA/ENTRY INTO WTO Guests: 1) N.T. Wang, Columbia University; 2) Daniel Xu, assit. prof. of economics, Huron College, University of Western Ontario

DECEMBER 18, 1995: THE CONTROVERSY IN THE SELECTION OF PANCHEN LAMA'S REINCARNATION Guests: 1) Ngapo Jigme, political analyst, International Campaign for Tibet; 2) Mingxu Xu, researcher, Center for Modern China

DECEMBER 25, 1995: GROWING US TRADE DEFICIT WITH CHINA Guests: 1) Dr. Wang Zhi, economist at Agriculture Department and consultant to World Bank; 2) Dr. Chen Zhaohui, economist at I-M-F.

JAN. 1, 1996: YEARENDER: CHINA'S FOREIGN POLICY IN 1995 Guests: Mr. Chen Youwei, senior visiting scholar at John Hopkins University; 2) Mr. Wang Jianwei, assistant professor of political science. University of Wisconsin-Steven Point

JAN. 8, 1996: YEARENDER: SOCIAL CHANGES IN CHINA IN 1995 Guests: 1) Ms. Gong Xiaoxia, Ph.D in Sociology, Harvard University; 2) Ms. Huang Xiaopo, free-lance lecturer and speaker

JAN. 15, 1996: YEARENDER: INFLATION IN CHINA IN 1995 Guests: 1) Mr. Zheng Decheng, Economist at the World Bank; 2) Mr. Hu Zuli, Economic advisor, IMF

JAN. 22, 1996: HOUSING REFORM IN CHINA Guests: 1) Mr. Yong Yin,

Assistant professor, Dept. of Economics, New York State University at Buffalo; 2) Ms. Aimin Chen, Assistant professor, Dept. of Economics, Indiana State University

JAN. 29, 1996: XINHUA NEWS AGENCY GAINS MONOPOLY ON ECONOMIC NEWS
 Guests: 1)Zhou He, assistant prof. of Journalism, School of Journalism, San Jose State University; 2)Youwei Chen, Senior visiting scholar, SAIS, John Hopkins University.

Feb. 5. 1996: REFORM IN CRIMINAL LAWS IN CHINA Guests: 1)Guowei Hu, Attorney in NYCI 2)Halbin Qi, J.S. D candidate, Yale Law School

Feb. 12, 1996: THE RECENT ESCALATION OF TENSIONS BETWEEN CHINA AND TAIWAN Guests: 1)Norman Fu, Chief Washington correspondent of China Times; 2)Changsheng Lin, researcher at the Claremont Institute.

Feb. 19, 1996: CHINA-INTERNET CONTROL Guests: 1)Mr. Tongbin Li, editor of China Network Digest; 2)Ms. Cindy Zheng, senior system engineer with the San Diego Supercomputer Center.

Feb. 26, 1996: WILL CHINA BE ABLE TO FEED ITSELF IN THE FUTURE
 Guests: 1)Shenggen Fan, researcher at the International Food Policy research Institute; 2)Zhi Wang, associate researcher in University of Minnesota, and consultant to the World Bank.

March 4, 1996: CHINA/THE INCREASING ROLE OF THE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS
 Guests: 1)Jiaqi Yan, former director of the Institute of Politics of the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; 2)Tianjian Shi, assistant professor of Politics, Duke University

March 11. 1996: PRESS FREEDOM IN CHINA Guests: 1)Chin-chuan Lee, professor of Journalism, University of Minnesota; 2)Qingzhang Xiao, veteran Chinese correspondent.

March 18, 1996: CHINA/HUMAN RIGHTS Guests: 1)Qiang Xiao, Executive Director, Human Rights in China; 2)Zhengxin Wang, Ph.D. Candidate, Boston University, School of Theology.

March 25, 1996: TAIWAN PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION Guests:
 1)Winston Yang, Chairman, Department of Asian Studies, Seton Hall University; 2)Shaoguang Wang, associate professor of political science, Yale University.

April 1, 1996: CROSS-STRAIT TENSION AND ITS LONG-TERM IMPACT ON CHINA'S POLITICS AND CHINA'S RELATIONS WITH NEIGHBORING COUNTRIES
 Guests: 1)Changsheng Lin, Researcher, Claremont Institute; 2)Hsuan Meng, Deputy Editor-in-chief, World Journal.

April 8, 1996: CHINA'S BANKING SYSTEM Guests: 1)Decheng Zheng, Economist and World Bank Consultant; 2)Chun Zhang, associate professor of Finance, University of Minnesota.

April 15, 1996: REFORM OF COLLEGE ENROLLMENT AND JOB-ASSIGNMENT SYSTEM IN CHINA Guests: 1)Xuelan Rong, assist. professor, School of Education, University of North Carolina; 2)Julie Bao, assistant professor, Department of Teachers' Education, Shippensburg University.

April 22, 1996: CHINA/SMOKING Guests: 1)Weicheng You, prof. and chief of Beijing Institute for Cancer Research and School of Oncology, Beijing Medical University; 2)Wei Zheng, asst. Professor of Epidemiology, University of Minnesota.

April 29, 1996: CHINA/HONG KONG PROVISIONAL LEGISLATIVE COUNCIL Guests: 1)Jiaqi Yan, former director of Political research Institute, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; 2)Yi Li, editor-in-chief of the Nineties Magazine in Hong Kong; 3)Frankie Leung, associate professor, Loyola Law School

May 6, 1996: CHINA/ DIVORCE INCREASES Guests: 1)Zhenyu Wang, Deputy Director of Marriage Studies, Chinese Social Science Academy, 2)David Lu, Practicing Lawyer in Falls Church, Virginia

May 13, 1996: CHINA/THE LEGACY OF THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION Guests: 1)Gao Gao, former researcher at the Institute of Sociology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences; 2)Yi Zheng, Chinese writer.

May 20, 1996: CHINA'S MFN STATUS DEBATE AND AMERICAN DOMESTIC POLITICS Guests: 1)Fei-ling Wang, assistant professor of International Affairs, Georgia Tech University; 2)Lianchao Han, Staff Counsel to Senator Hank Brown (R-Colorado).

May 27, 1996: CHINA/OVERSEAS STUDENTS Guests: 1)Ben Tang, Head of Asian Studies Center, the Claremont Institute; 2)Xiaopo Huang, free-lance writer and speaker.

June 3, 1996: SEVEN YEARS LATER: TO WHAT EXTENT THE GOAL OF TIANANMEN DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT HAVE BEEN ACHIEVED Guests: 1)Tianjian Shi, assistant professor of political science, Duke University; 2)Guo Guang Wu, assistant professor, Department of Government, Chinese Hong Kong University.

June 10, 1996: US/CHINA DISPUTE ON INTELLECTUAL PROPERTY RIGHTS Guests: 1)Mr. Yi Lin, partner at Cox and Lin Law Firm in NYC; 2) Mr. Xiang Feng, assistant professor, Dept. of Law, Hong Kong University

June 17, 1996: ENVIRONMENTAL CHALLENGES TO CHINESE CITIES Guests: 1)Meiqiu Jiang, professor (retired), Department of Sociology, Beijing University; 2)Frang Zhang, Ph.D., Candidate, Department of Architecture, University of Florida.

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COOPERATION IN EUROPE
CHAIRMAN

July 14, 1995

**"IF WE DON'T HAVE THE RIGHT
EVEN TO GIVE BIRTH TO A BABY,
WHAT'S THE USE OF ANY OTHER RIGHTS?"**

"I've been hesitating to write you until today. At the end of May I heard a report on V.O.A. about your concern over China's cruel policy of forced abortion. As a Chinese woman who had just been forced to have an abortion at that time, I really agree with you. What is a real woman without the personal right to have one more child especially when she is expecting a baby and is obliged to kill it no matter how unwilling?"

"Considering human rights in China, we suffer more than any other countries, if we don't have the right even to give birth to a baby. What's the use of any other rights?"

"Please don't mention my name in public since I could be severely punished.

"I wish your career is always smooth."

*Excerpts from a June 19, 1995 letter
to Representative Christopher Smith from
a woman who has been forcibly aborted
whose name is withheld upon request.*

Dear Colleague:

This is an excerpt from a letter I received today from a young woman in China who is a victim of the Chinese government's repressive population control policies.

She took a great risk to write and have this letter delivered to me so that she could share with the world her sorrow and her desire to have the right to have more than one child.

Every day China violates the rights of women just like her when they refuse to give permission for couples to have a second child; when they subject women to forced sterilization and abortion; when they threaten women with physical abuse and loss of economic benefits.

We must take a stand against this type of tyranny.

DISAPPROVE MFN FOR CHINA

SUPPORT H.RES. 96

Sincerely,

CHRISTOPHER H. SMITH
Member of Congress



TIBETAN YOUTH CONGRESS

Office of the Central Executive Committee

A Letter of Appreciation

The Voice of America (Tibetan Service) now completes its five years of service. During these five years, it has provided a valuable contribution in enlightening the Tibetan people, especially for those who are in the occupied Tibet about the events of the outside world. Over the years, the VOA has become the household name for the Tibetans both inside and outside Tibet. This itself shows how much value people attach to the VOA's role and contribution. All those Tibetans who have either escaped from Tibet or returned from their visit to Tibet, and those who have contacted this office unanimously agreed that the service of the VOA is highly appreciated in Tibet.

In recognition of the VOA's (Tibetan Service) effort in enlightening the Tibetan people, particularly those who are inside Tibet about the values of freedom of speech and expression and instilling a renewed hope by providing much needed informations on the events around the world, the Tibetan Youth Congress, in its 9th General Body Meeting held in Dharamsala, India, from August 22 - 26, 1995, resolved to present this letter of appreciation to the VOA Tibetan Service.

The Tibetan Youth Congress is the largest non-governmental voluntary organisation of the Tibetan community-in-exile dedicated for the cause of Tibet. It was founded on October 7, 1970 and has at present 57 chapters worldwide with a total membership of 12,000.

While we present this letter, we also sincerely look forward for the continuation of the VOA's valuable service in the times to come.

Tsewang Phuntsok (Mr)
President

August 26, 1995

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KASHAG

June 17, 1995

Mr. Geoffrey Cowan
 Director, VOA
 330 Independence Ave., S.W.
 Washington, D.C. 20547
 U.S.A.

Dear Mr. Cowan:

First of all I would like to take this opportunity to congratulate you and your team for the excellent job in disseminating the international news in various languages of the world and particularly your Tibetan language broadcast. The Voice of America's Tibetan Language News Service is the only independent source of news for the Tibetan speaking areas of the world.

We have been receiving lots of letters and messages from inside Tibet asking us to convey their appreciations and request to increase the duration of news time. In contrary to the Chinese propaganda through their official media channels, the VOA's news and other features helps to give a new hopes and inspirations to our people inside Tibet for a brighter side of the world to live in. Please do continue with this excellent service for many years to come. We wish you all the success.

Yours sincerely

Kalon Sonam Topgyal
 Chairman of the Kashag

INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BUREAU

Voice of America / Bosnian Election Initiative

SUMMARY

The broadcast media are among the most important elements in creating an environment for free and fair elections. As in many parts of the world, broadcast media in Bosnia are still highly politicized. The Voice of America has proved highly effective in the transition to democracy. Recent examples include the VOA Creole Service's crucial role in Haiti's elections last November amidst the presence of U.N. peacekeepers. In Malawi in 1993, VOA created a six-week broadcast in Chinyanja, enabling listeners to learn about the positions of political parties and their candidates.

VOA plans to play a pivotal role in Bosnia's national and local elections. We have leased powerful medium wave facilities and enhanced our own facilities to greatly increase the power of radio signals delivered to Bosnia. We also expect a series of IBB programming initiatives on the elections to help promote informed political participation by explaining the electoral process -- including details about how and where to register and vote -- as well as offering a full discussion of leading parties, candidates, and issues. Bosnia's elections will not take place in a vacuum. VOA must continue to cover reconstruction and reconciliation efforts in order to promote the peace process and to counter the negative and nationalistic broadcasts of state-run media. A constant presence on the ground by the International Broadcasting Bureau will build trust and familiarity, essential for reporters trying to get people locked in hatred and conflict to talk openly. Individual stories of reconciliation and conflict resolution can be effective tools in building democracy, and can be much more easily provided now that an IBB office in Sarajevo has been opened.

Voice of America reaches millions of listeners in Bosnia through direct shortwave and medium wave broadcasts and placement of programming on 18 local radio stations. According to recent local surveys in Sarajevo, VOA enjoys more than a 25% audience share.

SPECIAL PROGRAMMING ON ELECTIONS

- **IBB Office/Apartment in Sarajevo:** A newly opened office in Sarajevo is enabling VOA to maintain a constant presence in the capital, both by English and vernacular correspondents. The hiring of an English superstringer and dozens of vernacular stringers across the country (from Banja Luca, to Mostar, to Bihac, to Tuzla) provides numerous daily reports on election-related developments -- all, of course, under the guidance of the IBB Sarajevo office.
- **Expansion of Bosnian Language Feed:** VOA inaugurated a 15-minute Bosnian satellite feed April 22, 1996, which is currently carried by six stations in Sarajevo, Tuzla, Mostar, Brcko, Zenica, and Breza. This weekday feed will be expanded July 15 to 30 minutes.
- **New Special Election Programs in Serbian, Croatian & Bosnian:** Effective Friday, August 2, 1996, all three vernacular services will dedicate a 30-minute airshow on the seven Fridays preceding the election exclusively to voter registration, candidate profiles, campaign developments, status of election monitors, and other election-related news.
- **Synergy with U.S. Elections:** Reports on the American political campaign, including the conventions, will be used, as warranted, to show how the system we're asking the Bosnians to adopt is working in the United States.

- **Roundtable Experts:** The South European Division plans to air a 10-minute roundtable discussion during each of the special election programs. Each roundtable will have a Bosnian Serb, Croatian, and Muslim perspective represented. This format using experts has not been used by VOA in Bosnia; the peaceful -- if energetic -- interactive between rivals can be a teaching tool for the citizenry as well as inform them of the differences between candidates' positions. Election security, party platforms, and other political issues will also be discussed.
- **Call-In Shows:** We will make this panel of experts available to listeners by inviting affiliated radio stations to submit specific listener questions on the elections, either on a live or recorded basis.
- **Dateline Bosnia:** VOA launched a 30-minute weekday program focusing exclusively on Bosnia in January 1996. Beginning July 3, we began airing a new 30-minute integrated news program focusing on eastern Europe, *Report to Europe*. *Dateline Bosnia* will be aired several hours before *Report to Europe*. An updated version of the same show will run immediately following *Report to Europe*. Beginning in August, *Dateline Bosnia* will dedicate five-ten minutes of each show to the elections.
- **Nuts & Bolts:** Vernacular programming is adapting existing programming which discusses the benefits of democracy in general and of elections in particular. Further, language broadcasts to the area will carry 30-second public service announcements with information on such topics as how and where to register, deadlines to register, hours polling stations are open, and local phone numbers to call for information will be included in these weekly special programs.
- **Election Coverage Workshops:** VOA has sponsored three Election Coverage Workshops for 29 Bosnian journalists since March 1996. In addition to workshops at VOA, six radio and TV broadcasters went on to Dayton, Ohio; 12 print journalists went on to Harrisburg and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and 11 radio broadcasters went on to Little Rock, Arkansas.
- **WORLDNET Television Feeds:** Serbian, Bosnian, and Croatian language newsfiles are prepared Monday-Friday, each including one 90-second spot on latest developments in the former Yugoslavia.
- **RFE/VOA/WORLDNET Television Program --** RFE is spearheading a weekly 30-minute television program which focuses on Bosnian elections. VOA and WORLDNET prepare a 5-minute wrap with American -- newsmaker, think tank, and academic -- reaction to and commentary about developments in Bosnia's election campaign.

Prepared:CMN-7/8/96

San Diego Union

January 1996

Damming the flood

Authorities unite to stem illegal immigration

Every year at this time, illegal immigration across our southern border surges to a flood. Mexicans who have decided to seek a better life in the north stay home with their families over Christmas and then head to the border in droves. It's a post-holiday tradition here in the Southwest.

The only difference this year is that immigration officials are trying to do something to stop it — and the national news media are taking notice. Belated efforts, to be sure, after decades of indifference, but good news nonetheless.

Attorney General Janet Reno and immigration Commissioner Doris Meisner announced yesterday that 300 additional Immigration and Naturalization Service employees, including 200 Border Patrol agents, will be sent to the California and Arizona borders. In addition, small Army units will lend their high-tech surveillance expertise to the Border Patrol. Local police and sheriff's deputies also will take part in stopping the flood of illegals.

About 80 of the new Border Patrol

agents will be stationed in San Diego County. The initiative will cost about \$7.5 million over the next three months, plus \$5 million to reimburse local police agencies.

At the same time, the federal government is broadcasting the message throughout Latin America that illegal crossers will get caught. The Voice of America and its television counterpart, World Net, have transmitted broadcast interviews with U.S. immigration officials to thousands of television and radio stations throughout the hemisphere, explaining that deportation awaits first-time crossers and prison awaits those who make repeated attempts.

The messages say that immigrants will therefore lose the money they pay to smugglers, if the smugglers don't rip them off or even assault and abuse them first.

This is an excellent effort. But there's one problem. Why should this be only a special initiative to cope with the post-Christmas border rush? If these twin efforts are made permanent, and escalated as necessary, illegal immigration could be drastically reduced.

HUMAN RIGHTS WATCH/AFRICA

Formerly Africa Watch

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August 2, 1995

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 Voice of America
 Washington, D.C.

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David S. Zundel

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Claude E. Welch, Jr.

Dear Mr. Cowan,

I am most distressed to hear of the pending budget cuts that would seriously limit the programs at Voice of America.

I know from my work in Rwanda and Burundi what an important role this broadcasting service has played in disseminating information and stimulating discussion in countries where the radio is the main source of news.

During the genocide in Rwanda, Voice of America provided information that actually saved lives. Local radio stations broadcast false news bulletins intended to reassure people at risk and to lure them out of their hiding places so that they could be killed. People at risk listened to Voice of America to know what the situation really was and whether it was safe to come out.

Such a role is certainly exceptional and we hope that it will not be necessary for VOA to offer this kind of aid again, but it does illustrate the extent to which it is regarded as a trustworthy source of information in a time and a place where local media frequently sacrifice accuracy to political ends.

Best of luck in persuading the members of Congress of the value of this crucially important service.

Sincerely,

Alison Des Forges
 Alison Des Forges

**HUMAN
 RIGHTS
 WATCH**

KENNETH KOTTH, Executive Director · LYNN BA BKOWN, Program Director · HOJJY J. BURKHALTER, Advocacy Director

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Human Rights Watch is a non-profit corporation committed to promoting human rights in Africa, the Americas, Asia, the Middle East, and exposing the violations of the Helsinki accords.

Sender : Monique Mujawamariya
 Fondation Agathe Uwilingiyimana
 Montréal Fax : (514) 495 2019
 To :
 Jeff Cowan
 Director, VOA
 Washington DC

C/O Gweri Dillard/French Branch

It was a great privilege for me to get to meet you last april, on the occasion of VOA-sponsored workshop on international broadcasting and conflict prevention, in Washington DC. Since then I read several times in the news that the VOA is under threat of severe budget cuts and struggling for its future. I would like to extend to you my encouragement, because the VOA broadcasting is very important for millions of people living in central Africa.

As founder and leader of the Association for Human Rights and public liberties, and executive secretary of Great Lake Human Rights League, I lived and took action in the Great Lakes region in general, in Rwanda in particular, until the genocide occurred, and then I had to flee for my life and take refuge in Canada. I do hope the pending situation will not hamper VOA's capability to reach out volatile countries like Rwanda and Burundi, where deem it to be a reliable source of accurate news and rely on it to know what is going on.

Furthermore the VOA has a tremendous impact on human rights violators who feel the eye of mankind is watching them. This sometimes deter them prevent from committing more atrocities. I believe one of the reasons why I was able to survive and pursue my fight for human rights was the international notoriety I reached from interviews with international radios such as VOA.

In the case of Rwanda, I do believe also that revenge killings would have been much following RPF rebels takeover in Kigali, if they didn't feel that every step they were taking was closely watched by the rest of the world, by the same people who adamantly denounced the genocide, through human rights monitors and international broadcasting organizations, such as the VOA.

I hope this few words from my heart will give you more energy to fight for the survival of your organisation.

Mujawamariya Monique
 Présidente

~~Jeff Cowan~~
 5/11/93

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REVIEW & OUTLOOK

Asides

What Voice?

During the coming presidential campaign, each candidate will talk a lot about how "America" has to sustain its position of world leadership. So it will be interesting today to see how Phil Gramm's Appropriations

subcommittee treats the Voice of America, this country's leading public outlet for bringing radio news to many of the world's emerging nations. Information is a 21st century advantage for the U.S., and it would be good to see Mr. Gramm's committee recognize that.

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JOSETTE SHINER, *Managing Editor*

TOD LINDBERG, *Editor of the Editorial Page*
MARY LOU FORBES, *Commentary Editor*
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America's Newspaper

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PAULA GRAY HUNKER, *Facilities Director*
SARA COOPERRIDER, *Computer Services Director*

The world according to Saddam?

Consider the scenario that is playing itself out in the Balkans. More than half the NATO fighter planes that have been bombing Serbian targets in Bosnia are American, and the current push for a negotiated peace settlement is being led by an American, Assistant Secretary of State Richard Holbrooke. As for the immediate future, the returning U.S. Congress could soon be voting to override President Clinton's veto of the lifting of the Bosnian arms embargo.

Or consider this: The United States is pushing for an expansion of NATO to include the nations of Central Europe and hopes to do so without antagonizing the Russian government too badly. Or this: The United States government very much opposes the Russian sale of nuclear technology to Iran and calls for a trade embargo against the Ayatollahs, a policy regarded with little sympathy by our allies who depend on Iranian oil. Or this: the United States continues to oppose the lifting of the embargo against Cuba, which the Canadians and the Europeans regard as a hold-over from the Cold War. Or indeed any number of issues on the international front.

With the United States involved in numerous areas of the world, can anyone seriously doubt that it is important how the various aspects of U.S. foreign policy are perceived abroad? This week, Congress is back and the Senate appropriations subcommittee on Commerce, Justice, State and Judiciary will be pondering just this question, as it considers, among other things, funding levels for U.S. international broadcasting.

Under the Clinton administration, belts have

already been pulled tight at Voice of America, Radio Liberty/Radio Free Europe, Radio and Television Marti and the rest, to the tune of almost half a billion dollars between 1993 and 1997. The funding levels contained in the Senate bill only adds another \$10 million cut, which brings the 1996 international broadcasting budget down to about \$385 million. By contrast, the House voted for more draconian measures, cutting \$54 million in 1996, which is simply too much if we still want a voice in the world to explain the United States, its people, its government and its policies to millions of listeners abroad. That happens not to be the role of CNN, or the BBC World Service, or Deutsche Welle. It is, however, the role of the Voice of America.

And the fact is that others are prepared to fill the airwaves if we are not. According to "Summary of World Broadcasts," based on BBC monitoring, Voice of Russia broadcasts 54 hours to Europe daily (including the Balkans) compared to VOAs 38.54. Radio China International can boast of 62 hours of daily broadcasts to Asia, compared to VOAs 29.2. Radio Iran aims 82.25 hours daily at the Middle East and Central Asia to VOAs 44. And not to forget Saddam Hussein, on Aug. 2, "Mother of Battles Radio" was back on the airwaves with a pithy commentary on the anniversary of the Gulf War and a 15 minute editorial denouncing any attempts to improve relations with Israel.

There is no shortage of voices out there. It would be a serious mistake, indeed, to leave it to our competitors or enemies to define the ideological battleground of the future.

WESLEY PRUDEN, *Editor in Chief*
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America's Newspaper

Does America need a Voice?

It is curious, these days, to hear the charge of isolationism be leveled at the Republican Party, the very same party which under Ronald Reagan freed the world from the paralysis of the Cold War and removed the Soviet threat for good. As the intense debate over the House foreign affairs bill demonstrated, Republicans clearly care about the world as much as ever, so much so that the bill attracted 100 amendments and days of floor debate. On a number of issues, the Republican Congress has shown itself vastly more engaged than the White House, whose attention to world affairs has been so erratic as to cause our allies abroad major headaches.

In an article on the Op-Ed page of the New York Times earlier this month, Senate Majority leader Bob Dole, vigorously rejected the charge that the Republican Party is drifting towards isolationism. "It is Congressional Republicans who have regularly prodded a reluctant Administration on a number of internationalist issues like the expansion of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and lifting the arms embargo on Bosnia," Mr. Dole wrote, reminding his readers also that "the very Administration that labels a \$3 billion cut in spending for foreign aid and the United Nations a sign of isolationism has slashed American defense spending by \$127 billion over five years."

Given also that Republicans will very likely take possession of the presidency again in 1996, and with it the primary responsibility for formulating the nation's foreign policy, it is important to consider maximizing funds spent on foreign affairs. The bills introduced by Sen. Jesse Helms and Rep. Ben Gilman, chairman of the Senate and House Foreign affairs committees, on State Department consolidation are precisely the kind of new thinking that's needed.

But it is equally clear that here, as elsewhere, there is need to cut wisely. In the coming weeks, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee will begin mark-up of the portion of the Foreign Relations Revitalization Act that relates to international broadcasting activities. This is an area that has been dramatically

restructured already in accordance with the 1994 International Broadcasting Act, at an estimated saving to U.S. taxpayer of \$462 million between fiscal years 1994 and 1997. The funding level contained in the Senate bill only adds another \$10 billion cut to the president's budget request, bringing the 1996 international broadcasting budget down to some \$385 billion. This contrasts with the House bill, which would cut some \$49 billion in 1996 and a further \$113 billion the year after that. That would reduce U.S. international broadcasting to the size of Radio Australia, or thereabouts.

If it is assumed the United States still wants to project its policies and its values abroad, wants, in other words, a voice to address the world, then the Senate version makes more sense. While the U.S. government should have no role broadcasting at home, there is very good reason for the United States to try to influence events abroad. The need for the Voice of America (and the other components of the International Broadcasting Bureau) is still there, even in the Post-Cold War era, even in the age of CNN and the Internet. No medium is as pervasive, as effective — and cost effective — as radio transmission, as will readily be recognized by the millions of Americans here at home who tune in every day to Rush Limbaugh and the other rapidly multiplying radio talk shows all over the United States.

That was true in 1942 when VOA went on the air to counter Nazi propaganda, that was true when VOA helped spread the word about democracy throughout the Soviet empire, and that is still true in many places today where people rely on VOA to bring them news, independent, real news of the world and of the United States, in China, in Iran, Iraq and Libya, in North Korea, in Serbia, in Cuba, to mention a few.

House Speaker Newt Gingrich likes to say he wants to be a hawk, but "a cheap hawk." Supporting the U.S. military is one way to be a hawk. Another, which ought to be complimentary, is to support the dissemination of news and American values. Reaching some 92 million people for a little under \$400 million a year can only be considered a bargain.



The Backgrounder

The Heritage Foundation

No. 1052

The Heritage Foundation 214 Massachusetts Avenue N.E. Washington, D.C. 20002-4999 (202) 546-4400

September 7, 1995

THE VOICE OF AMERICA: DON'T SILENCE AMERICA'S VOICE IN THE GLOBAL MARKETPLACE OF IDEAS

INTRODUCTION

"Ideas have consequences." This simple truism became the battle cry of the Reagan Revolution of the 1980s. But it was true long before Ronald Reagan's term in the White House, and it is no less true today. America still needs the ability to explain its policies and to educate people around the globe about American values and the principles of freedom. Because so many in the world yearn to enjoy the freedom which the United States represents, the world still needs desperately to hear America's voice.

Reconvening this week after the August recess, Members of Congress should remember that although ideas have consequences, they will be impotent and inconsequential if they cannot be heard in the global marketplace of ideas. Congress will soon complete work on appropriations bills that provide funds for foreign operations and international broadcasting. In its zeal to cut wasteful and unnecessary government spending, the Republican majority is poised to cripple the Voice of America, even though VOA is both America's primary means of conveying ideas and information overseas and a cost-effective and strategically effective component of U.S. foreign policy.

The congressional raid on U.S. government international broadcasting is an unfortunate convergence between Members who believe foreign affairs accounts are politically attractive targets for budget slashing and the Clinton Administration, whose lack of a coherent foreign policy means, among other deficiencies, inadequate support for international broadcasting. As a result, the 104th Congress is about to reduce the Voice of America's budget by as much as \$54 million, a small amount in terms of the federal budget, yet a cut which will have disproportionate, far-reaching consequences. It could silence America's most effective voice in the global marketplace of ideas, even though VOA's benefits—potential

Note: Nothing written here is to be construed as necessarily reflecting the views of The Heritage Foundation or as an attempt to aid or hinder the passage of any bill before Congress.

and actual—far exceed the modest amount in the Administration's FY 1996 budget request (\$395 million).

Before embarking upon a budget-cutting course that is penny-wise but pound-foolish, Congress needs to take a closer look at the vital role VOA plays in foreign policy and public diplomacy. Instead of subjecting VOA to a false economy, Congress should provide enough funds to ensure that it remains the nation's international broadcasting flagship.

IDEAS FUEL DEMOCRACY AND FREE-MARKET REFORM

Social scientists never tire of explaining that today is the Age of Information. Television is ubiquitous. The transistor has made cheap portable radios common even in the world's poorest nations. Multi-spectrum radio broadcasting, proliferating cable, satellite, and direct broadcast television, microwaves, computers and fax modems, and other means of high-speed transmission have linked the world as never before. In the modern world, information dissemination and content have become indispensable instruments of state power.

Information is no longer neutral; it has "strategic" value, as recent history demonstrates. In the victory of America and the West over Soviet Communism, military power kept the "Evil Empire" contained. But it was ideas and information, not bombs and bullets, that ultimately brought the Soviet edifice crumbling down.

However, if it is technologically the Age of Information, politically it is the Age of Chaos. The end of the superpower condominium has unleashed potent new forces kept contained by 45 years of Cold War. Today sub-national, tribal, ethnic, and religious conflict are battering peace and stability in the world as new nations and new ideologies struggle to be born. In this dangerous and uncertain world the interests of the United States will be challenged in ways Americans cannot now imagine. The ability to convey ideas and information will remain a necessary component of American foreign policy. America must be able to shape the course of the world through a voice that encourages the forces of freedom and discredits the forces of oppression.

Perhaps it is self-evident, but in this era of dramatic global change it bears repeating that human behavior is determined by what one believes. There is a flow to history and culture; and its wellspring is the inner life of the mind—thoughts, attitudes, and beliefs, and the passions they engender. This is especially true of the corporate actions of men and women, such as political decisions. The results of their thoughts flow through their hands or from their tongues and into the external world. Why else do dictators expend such immense efforts to control the content and flow of information? What is usually the first objective of a *coup d'etat*? The answer is obvious—radio and television stations.

It is important to remember that the VOA did not begin as a weapon of the Cold War or in response to Soviet Communism. It was launched in 1942 at the beginning of World War II to counter Nazi propaganda, to reassure America's allies, and to give hope to people struggling against tyranny. Today the Voice of America is the nation's sole worldwide broadcasting service, reaching 100 million regular listeners over a network of shortwave, AM, and FM stations in English and 46 other languages. During the Persian Gulf War, VOA was America's only means of rebutting Saddam Hussein's propaganda aimed at the people of Iraq and was a key voice in reaching the nations of the Allied coalition.

VOA told the peoples of Nazi-occupied Europe during the darkest days of World War II: "The news may be good or bad. We will tell you the truth." Today VOA still follows this mandate, as required under its Charter (Public Laws 94-350 and 103-415), which obliges VOA to provide "a consistently reliable source of news and information" based on accuracy, balance, comprehensiveness, and objectivity.

The accuracy and objectivity of America's radio voice are having a profound impact on nations emerging from 45 years behind the Iron Curtain. The Open Media Research Institute surveyed 400 leaders in government and politics, the military, religion, higher education, media, and private enterprise in the former Soviet Union, including the Baltic States, and in Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Bulgaria, and Romania. According to this survey approximately 18 percent of the elites of these nations are regular listeners to VOA programming. In the Baltics, over 40 percent of decision-makers interviewed were regular listeners. Nearly three-quarters of the respondents felt strongly that Western radio broadcasts were still needed despite the new freedoms enjoyed by their own news media.¹

The importance of getting America's message to the elites of emerging nations simply cannot be overstated. President Lech Walesa of Poland and President Vaclav Havel of the Czech Republic have publicly confirmed the role which America's international broadcasting, including the VOA, has played in building democracy in their countries. In Ukraine, VOA's "Window on America" is said to be the most popular radio program in the country.

VOA's example of free, uncensored news and objective, balanced features encourages the development of a free press among the listening nations, even when the Voice presents a less than flattering portrait of America. The example is strengthened by VOA's policy of maintaining a clear distinction between editorials, which speak in the name of the U.S. government, and news programming.

The Cold War with the Soviet Empire may be over, but a cold war of a global nature—the struggle over which ideas legitimize human governance—is not over. The ideals of representative and limited government, of free enterprise and free institutions, have prevailed for the time being over Marxism-Leninism in much of the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, but by no means have they been accepted everywhere in the world. Most of the world's people still live under some sort of despotism or suffer from revolution and civil war.

The VOA is America's force projection in this continuing global struggle between competing political principles and social values. The United States is under no obligation to convert the entire world to America's system of beliefs, but it is widely acknowledged that democratic nations are more peaceable and less likely to challenge U.S. interests than dictatorships. Both advocates of a foreign policy based on national self-interest and those who stress the moral component of foreign policy can support a vigorous, information-rich public diplomacy that makes the world friendlier and more compatible with American interests. As long as America can engage in this global cold war of ideas with information instead of military force, the struggle can remain "cold."

1 Report on "VOA Listenership Among Elites: Eastern Europe and the Former USSR," Audience and Opinion Research Department of the Open Media Research Institute, Washington, D.C., August 1995.

Even the Kurds—embattled on all sides and fighting among themselves—believe the broadcast word is mightier than the sword in building an independent nation. Instead of using scarce resources to buy arms, Kurds are creating a London-based television service to beam Kurdish-language programming to Europe and the Middle East as a “better weapon to win a homeland” for their people.²

INFORMATION AS A TOOL OF U.S. GLOBAL STRATEGY

Today's world contains rogue states and hostile nations whose main weapon is the well-disseminated lie—lies about America's goals, interests, methods. To perpetuate themselves, these hostile regimes depend on propaganda, first to control their own populations and then to justify aggression abroad. It is an essential feature of modern dictatorships, one which they have in common despite differences in geography and culture, to consolidate power by controlling public opinion without having to answer to any traditional consensus or transcendent definition of right and wrong.

Many Russians now freed from the yoke of Communism have remarked that the most hated feature of the Soviet regime was not the possibility of arrest and imprisonment in the Gulag, but the pervasive falsehoods that touched every aspect of life and tainted everything they touched. This kind of morally inverted society built on propaganda can be altered only through rebuttal by trustworthy, countervailing information over time. The only antidote to falsehood is truth, but truth is impotent unless America has the means to convey it into the domain of the lie.

Today the threat of Soviet Communism has receded, only to be replaced by a new threat. By now it is universally acknowledged that revolutionary Islam represents one of the main challenges to democracy and American interests in the world—not Islam *per se*, but the revolutionary movement which draws legitimacy from a militant and politicized interpretation of Islamic theology.

The vast majority of the world's Muslims are not part of radical movements. Indeed, the governments of moderate and friendly Muslim countries are the primary targets of Islamic radicals. Today revolutionary Islamic regimes have ample money and access to the latest information technology. In this global contest for hearts and minds, VOA is the most potent means America has to combat the rising tide of a revolutionary ideology in which Mohammed has replaced Marx.

Muslim revolutionaries realize the value of information as a tool of their strategy. Radio Tehran broadcasts daily in 23 languages, in English and European languages as well as languages native to the Middle East and the Muslim regions of the former Soviet Union. Significantly, Radio Tehran broadcasts in Serbo-Croatian to Bosnia, constantly reinforcing the theme throughout all of its coverage area that the United States is the faithless enemy of Islam and that America has imperialist designs on the Persian Gulf and the oil-rich Middle East. Though these charges are false, there are enough points of reference in the message to make it plausible to Tehran's audience and give the falsehood a political impact.

² Edith M. Lederer. “Freedom Dreams Lifted by Trading Guns for TV Time: Kurds Bounce Broadcasts Off Satellite,” *The Washington Times*, September 2, 1995.

VOA's daily presence through its Arabic and Farsi services is balancing the picture and countering Iran's daily radio diet of anti-Western propaganda. VOA's 100-kilowatt AM transmitter in Kuwait will be upgraded to begin transmitting next year at 600 kilowatts and will reach all of Iraq and most of Iran, where the Voice already has an 11 percent listenership. America's message to Iran also sustains hope among those who suffer persecution at the hands of the mullahs, like members of the Baha'i and Christian faiths. In this part of the world where America has had to fight to defend its vital interests, VOA gives an accurate picture of a free society which respects all religions and treats Islam respectfully, reporting, for example, that Islam is the fastest-growing religion in the United States.

In the Balkans, VOA's shortwave and medium-wave AM stations around the periphery of the zone of conflict provide a thorough blanket of coverage. Broadcasting three hours a day in Serbian and one hour daily in Croatian, VOA is the largest international broadcaster in the region and enjoys a 32 percent listenership in Sarajevo. It also broadcasts in Albanian to Kosovo, another potential flashpoint in the Balkans.

The recent NATO air strikes against Serbs in Bosnia provoked bitter denunciations in Belgrade and in Serb-controlled Bosnia. In Moscow the NATO air campaign against Russia's traditional allies also prompted vocal condemnation. With their tight control of news media, Yugoslav and Bosnian Serb leaders stir up ethnic hatred and keep violent passions high. They black out all information about Serb atrocities and war crimes charges in the West. Disinformation and falsehoods are a major part of their overall strategy. Without the VOA there would be no voice explaining U.S. and Allied actions to the people most involved or rebutting the false charges the Serbs use to legitimize their aggression.

VOA recently began a refugee hotline as part of the Serbo-Croatian service. It offers broadcast facilities to reach separated family members in the Balkans, who can call a VOA telephone number and leave a message on the Serbo-Croatian line. VOA then broadcasts the message to reach separated family members. Numerous families have been reunited through this service.

This is more than a humanitarian gesture, one whose exact value is impossible to quantify. If American soldiers ever have to enter Bosnia, for example, as part of a NATO operation to cover the withdrawal of the U.N. Protection Force, America may find out how much it is worth. It is conceivable that the goodwill engendered by this service will save American lives if that day does come.

In another volatile region of the world, VOA is broadcasting in Korean to counter the propaganda of the Stalinist North on the Korean Peninsula. In China, VOA is America's link to the most populous nation in the world. China's emergence as a global power and America's relations with the Chinese will be among the defining issues in the 21st century and will affect the future structure of world politics. It is absolutely essential for the U.S. to maintain an active presence there. The audience for VOA's Mandarin service has grown to include 70 percent of China's college students since the 1989 massacre in Tiananmen Square. Such programs as the "Harry Wu Watch," after the arrest of the human rights activist, and "China Forum" generate more than 4,000 faxes and letters to VOA per month from Chinese listeners.

VOA's Tibetan service recently expanded its broadcasts from a half hour to two hours a day. It is the only independent news source for the Tibetan-speaking areas of the world. In fact, the communist regime in Beijing devotes considerable efforts to jamming the VOA's

Chinese and Tibetan broadcasts. Devoting scarce resources to jamming attests eloquently to VOA's effectiveness.

In Myanmar, better known as Burma, the democratic opposition leader Aung San Suu Kyi recently was freed by the ruling military junta after nearly six years of house arrest. The only reliable sources of this news were the VOA's Burmese language service and the BBC.

Surrogate Radios

In evaluating the role of broadcasting in global strategy, it is important to distinguish between the VOA and the so-called surrogate radios—Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL), Radio Free Asia, and Radio Martí, which broadcasts to Cuba. The mission of the surrogate radio services is to tell listeners what is happening in their own country, to provide information which their own radios would provide if their countries were free. This difference in missions is a matter of U.S. law. The surrogates also have a vital mission, but they do not explain or defend U.S. government policy; nor do they present U.S. values and institutions. That mission is unique to VOA.

Under the International Broadcasting Act of 1994, federal funding for RFE/RL will end after 1999. And when Fidel Castro's grip on his island prison ends, as it inevitably must, federal funding for the Office of Cuban Broadcasting and Radio Martí probably will end. But there still will be a need for VOA to perform its role as America's voice to the world.

Ultimately, no information strategy can be a substitute for adequate military power. Force of arms will always be the final argument when nothing else suffices. But it is far better to shape the world's events in advance, if possible, through "soft" means like information. Using broadcasting successfully as a tool of global strategy can create conditions of friendship and convergence of interests that make conflict unnecessary and give America options other than the last resort of armed force.

MYTHS ABOUT THE VOA AND U.S. GOVERNMENT BROADCASTING

Critics of the U.S. government's international broadcasting programs propagate five myths to justify public neglect of the VOA or reduction of its resources.

Myth #1: The VOA can be privatized.

The VOA provides both a means of public diplomacy to promote America's values to the rest of the world and an official voice for the U.S. government to explain and defend its policies. In other words, VOA is an instrument of policy, not just a source of entertainment. Private entities simply cannot carry out this function. Moreover, the VOA's network of facilities is extensive, operating in many remote corners of the world. It is inconceivable that private operations would have the inclination, resources, expertise, or profit-making incentive to take over such an extensive network. In the 1980s the U.S. government invested heavily to upgrade the facilities for international broadcasting. It would be a waste of that investment to curtail VOA's scope just when the return on that investment is beginning to be realized.

Myth #2: We have CNN and do not need the VOA.

CNN does not reach an audience as wide, diverse, and strategically targeted as VOA's—in their own languages. CNN does not provide the same content or policy-significant information; nor does it adequately explain or defend the positions of the United States. In fact, CNN's popular "World Report" program actually does the reverse. Its correspondents feed policy-significant information from foreign governments to the U.S. and other audiences.

Myth #3: The Cold War is over, so the VOA is unnecessary.

Those who make this assertion have a fundamental misunderstanding of the difference between VOA and the surrogate radios like Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty and Radio Martí, which are products of the Cold War. VOA is more necessary than ever to give America a voice in the highly competitive global marketplace where the struggle for democracy and freedom is still being waged. Other nations, many unfriendly to America, are speaking effectively into this marketplace. The revolutionary regime of Iran is a notable example. Why should America now choose not to engage in this vital war of ideas?

Myth #4: Government broadcasting has plenty of fat; all government broadcasting should be cut.

Since 1992 VOA has reduced its broadcast staff by 25 percent, cut direct broadcast hours from 1,080 to 850 hours weekly, abolished or converted numerous language services, eliminated 14 senior management positions, and cut 170 other line positions to meet mandated budget reductions. VOA is now at a core operating level. Any further cuts will force VOA to eliminate entire language services to critical world regions.

It can be argued that the need for surrogate radios will diminish over time if and when democracy, accompanied by freedom of information, takes hold in existing dictatorships and formerly totalitarian countries. But VOA needs to stabilize at a funding level commensurate with its vital mission, and not be subjected to further cuts. As stated in a recent *Wall Street Journal* editorial, "If Congress wants to cut federal broadcasting, the better target is domestic public TV, for which a multitude of commercial alternatives do exist."³

EFFECTIVE BROADCASTING REQUIRES ADEQUATE FUNDS

The Administration's FY 1996 budget request for VOA is \$395 million. But VOA faces a \$10 million reduction from the 1996 request mandated by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in the State Department authorization bill.

The Foreign Relations Committee report accompanying the authorization bill acknowledges that budget authority for international broadcasting (not counting the separate radio facilities construction account) in the Foreign Relations Revitalization Act of 1995 is 21 percent below the operating level in 1994 (\$487 million). In other words, VOA already is operating at the margins because the agency chose to absorb past funding cuts by reducing

3 "Projecting America." *The Wall Street Journal*, July 17, 1995.

staff and broadcast hours across the board in order to keep critical language services on the air.

If Senate appropriators agree to the \$385 million recommended by the Foreign Relations Committee, VOA will have to reduce direct broadcasting from 850 to 715 hours per week, eliminate another four language services, and end all shortwave transmissions to Latin America.

The situation on the House side is even more bleak. The House Appropriations Committee marked up its State Department appropriations bill before the August recess, providing \$341 million, or \$54 million below the FY 1996 budget request. The committee's report acknowledges that a cut of this magnitude "could mean a reduction of at least 400 personnel, and the possible cessation of broadcasting in as many as 20 languages. These reductions come on top of the major reorganization/downsizing that occurred because of the 1994 Act (the International Broadcasting Act of 1994), which has resulted in staffing reductions of 900 at RFE/RL and 350 at VOA."

If outlays fall to this level, the VOA in effect will cease to be a global broadcaster. America's voice will fall silent in vital corners of the globe as VOA scales down to a narrow regional focus, like Radio Australia or Radio Netherlands.

A cut of this magnitude will allow only 535 hours of weekly broadcasting in about 20 languages, with greatly diminished English transmissions in three of six key global regions. VOA would lose about half of its estimated direct broadcast global audience.

As it completes work on the State Department appropriations bill, Congress should keep in mind that the Clinton Administration's FY 1996 budget request for international broadcasting was inadequate from the start and represents a substantial cut from prior year operating levels. At a bare minimum, House and Senate appropriators should fund the VOA at the \$385 million recommended by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

CONCLUSION

VOA embodies the importance of democratic culture and shared values, not just raw economic interests or military power, as a basis for international relations. America has a natural advantage in promoting U.S. interests and values in the world, unlike dictatorships which have to lie, since most people aspire to the values America represents.

The importance of moral leadership in the world by precept, by reasoning, and by sharing information is vital. It enables America to shape the world without having to use heavy-handed, intrusive means. Broadcasting America's values and views to 100 million people in critical areas of the globe for \$395 million per year is money well spent, and a bargain at the price. To cut VOA further is indeed, in the words of VOA Director Geoffrey Cowan, the unilateral disarmament of the Information Age.

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., Ph.D.
President

Thomas G. Moore
Deputy Director of Defense and Foreign Policy
Studies

PREPARED STATEMENT
KEVIN KLOSE
PRESIDENT, RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY
BEFORE THE
SUBCOMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL OPERATIONS AND HUMAN
RIGHTS
COMMITTEE ON INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
TUESDAY, JULY 9, 1996

Mr. Chairman, members of the subcommittee, it is a pleasure to be here today to speak to you and update you on the progress Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty has made since Congress passed and the President signed into law the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (P.L. 104-236).

During the past two years, Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) has undergone dramatic changes to continue to provide high quality broadcast services to support the spread of democracy and free-market reform in Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union. I am pleased to report that the transition, although difficult and at times, painful, has gone well. We have moved from our longtime Cold-War headquarters in Munich, Germany, to the now free and democratic Czech Republic. Our operations in Prague are unique, economical, and deliver for U.S. policy makers strong support for democracy-building in a region whose future stability is a matter of vital U.S. national security interests.

Statement of RFE/RL Kevin Klose**Page 2**

Our mission is clear: to bridge the crippling information chasm left by totalitarian rule, providing citizens of the newly sovereign nations of Central Europe and the former Soviet Union accurate information about their governments, their region, and the world. A well-informed citizenry is essential for democracy and free-market economies to flourish. The stakes are enormous.

Civil societies that guard human freedoms across our broadcast region can guarantee a stable peaceful future for all of Europe -- and the world. The mission of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty to assist democratic change, to combat racism and nationalism, has never been more vital or relevant to American interests in the region. The defeat of communism has occurred, but the victory of democracy is not assured. One measure of the precariousness of democratic institutions is to gauge the freedom of media in the region. Freedom House, in its 1996 survey of independent media, found that of 21 nations in our region, genuinely free media exist in only five countries. The substantial majority - 16 countries - are listed as either partially captured, or completely captured by the oppressive powers of former times - state, party, or bureaucratic/political structures which contest openly and in primitive style, to maintain absolute control over the most essential element of state control at the mass level -- power over major media. Summarizing the difficulties of assuring democracy, I think of Ivan Medek, the chief of staff of Czech President Vaclav Havel. Last month in Prague, he told the members of our Broadcasting Board of

Statement of RFE/RL Kevin Klose**Page 3**

Governors, "We have found that it was easier to defeat communism than it is to establish democracy. "

Mr. Chairman, to accomplish our work of supporting and strengthening democratic change, we have downsized our staff and adopted advanced digital technologies to enhance broadcast quality and editorial flexibility and depth, while achieving significant, continuing cost savings. Since 1993, RFE/RL cut staff to 420 from 1,100 employees, while maintaining over 700 hours weekly of high quality news and current affairs broadcasts in 23 languages. We cut our management staff by 77 percent. We cut the support staff by 60 percent. Our budget in Fiscal Year 1996 is \$71.4 million, two-thirds smaller than the annual budgets of Fiscal Years 1993-1995.

Editorial quality is high, and as our broadcasters and technicians adapt to the new digital technology, we are reaching new levels of on-time reliability and quality. From a technical perspective, the number of error-free hours of broadcast operations exceeds our previous high-quality levels in Munich. The reason for this excellence can be found in the fact that the majority of our broadcasters are veterans of RFE/RL from Munich and the United States, who recognized in the relocation to Prague an opportunity to advance their broadcast journalism by actually living and working within the region to which RFE/RL broadcasts. I would like to note that every Director of our 19 Language Services came to Prague to insure the smooth transfer of experience, knowledge, and perspective that

Statement of RFE/RL Kevin Klose**Page 4**

is so important to our undiminished credibility as the region's most relevant foreign broadcaster. We have taken significant steps to assure editorial quality and control, within our budgetary means. I would like to submit separately today a memorandum for the record describing our editorial process.

Our broadcast headquarters are now in the former Czechoslovak Federal Parliament Building. Once the home of a communist regime that RFE/RL helped topple, the Czech government of Vaclav Havel rents the building to us for a symbolic one Czech Crown per day -- about \$12 per year. Our international team -- Czechs and Americans, and men and women of more than 20 other countries -- are working with high morale and commitment to provide the raw materials of democracy to the people of our region. Our headquarters is becoming a mecca for public discussion of democracy, for press conferences and interviews that focus attention on democratic transition. Foreign ministers and parliamentarians from our target countries find Prague an important capital to visit, and increasingly, RFE/RL is on their agendas. The public spaces of the building include a major auditorium and conference and seminar rooms of various sizes. These lend themselves well to international conferences on building democracy, independent media, and free markets. Our broadcasters are able to make use of these unique programming opportunities.

Statement of RFE/RL Kevin Klose**Page 5**

Our move to Prague has attracted renewed interest from authorities in Western Europe, who view the relocation as a strengthening of the means to establish stable democracies in lands saddled through much of their histories with authoritarian or totalitarian rule. West Europeans know that their national security can only be enhanced if governments flourish to their east that defend human freedoms and the rule of law instead of suppressing individual rights and freedoms. West European sources have provided funds for RFE/RL to launch a training program for selected, talented journalists, broadcasters, and press spokespersons from our broadcast lands. I am pleased to report that this program soon will be training its third cycle of journalists in fact-based reporting and the ethics of independent, non-state journalism. Our graduates are qualified to become contributors to RFE/RL as well as to make new contributions to raising the levels of journalistic professionalism in their home countries.

Finally, Mr. Chairman, we continue to expand our "affiliate" relations with private, independent radio stations throughout our broadcast area. These local stations and networks are profiting from their partnership -- they obtain the highest-quality focused news and current affairs broadcasting to build their audience; and we help them to grow stronger and more self-assured in their communities and countries. In these ways, RFE/RL is accomplishing the mission of building democratic traditions.

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The radios today are in a unique position to further that development of freedom and democracy. We have over forty years of established presence and name recognition. Our listenership remains high -- independent surveys place the regular audience at more than 25 million listeners. This makes RFE/RL the most popular foreign radio service across the region, a powerful indicator that our radio services fulfill a vital function of providing relevant, useful information to millions. The surveys show that among decision makers, weekly listenership is typically no less than 15 percent of elites, ranging as high as 34 percent in Slovakia and elsewhere. These are indicators of the unique service to democracy in Central Europe and the Former Soviet Union provided by Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty.

Mr. Chairman, we at RFE/RL are aware of the continuing interest of this Subcommittee in our activities. We appreciate it greatly and the opportunity to report to you.

This concludes my statement. I would be glad to answer any questions the Subcommittee may have.



RFE/RL: Editorial Process

As both a news organization and a model of Western journalism applied to local and regional issues in Central Europe and the former Soviet Union, RFE/RL strives to observe the highest standards of accuracy, balance and analytical quality in its programs.

I. Program Conception and Organization

- The central News and Current Affairs (NCA) unit prepares a daily Recommended List by 09:00, reviewed and amended as necessary by Broadcasting Director/Deputy Director and issued to the broadcast services. The Recommended List:

- Provides guidance on main international and regional issues that require or deserve treatment, and draws broadcast service attention to the best news, analysis and opinion in Western materials available that day to support this coverage. The List's "Lead" story or stories require coverage in that day's program, though not necessarily as a service's own lead story.

- Serves as a vehicle to correct factual errors in outside news materials and to flag flawed items that should not be used on air.

- Advises services of upcoming NCA reports for the current day.

RFE/RL Editorial Process

Page 2

- The Broadcasting Director convenes a half-hour daily editorial meeting at 11:00 attended by all broadcast service directors or their representatives as well as NCA, OMRI (Research), the Broadcast Division Production Adviser and invited guests. The RFE/RL President often attends when he is in Prague. This meeting, which precedes most individual service meetings:

- Discusses the most appropriate approach to the coverage of international, regional or local issues/developments of importance to most or all services for that day.

- Provides the Broadcast Director with a tentative program outline from each broadcast service for review and later individual discussion, if necessary.

- Enhances the exchange of information among services. For cross-reporting purposes, each service summarizes the main items of domestic news/analysis/discussion in its upcoming program that may be of interest or importance to other services, facilitating the sharing of news and analysis. This discussion also engages OMRI analysts and provides perspective and insight on key issues/developments in the broadcast region.

- Alerts NCA and other services to significant interviews each service obtained the previous evening or expects that day which may be broadly useful in programming.

- Gives services an opportunity to share innovative program ideas/approaches that may be of interest to others.

- Engages researchers and current affairs reporters in daily programming. OMRI and NCA outline upcoming analyses, reports and special projects; services may request papers from OMRI and NCA.

- Provides a daily opportunity to discuss urgent technical or administrative issues affecting some or all services.

RFE/RL Editorial Process**Page 3**

- Each service holds its own morning staff editorial meeting which:
 - Provides collegial discussion of issues that require further or continuing coverage; new issues, developments that need to be addressed; feature programming that will air later in the week.
 - Solicits story ideas, approaches from staff.
 - Sets guidance for the day's coverage by the service bureau.

II. Program Execution

The Director of each broadcast service is personally and directly responsible for the accuracy, balance, tone and overall journalistic and production quality of each day's program. This responsibility is shared with, and to a limited extent delegated to, a deputy director and, in the larger services, to a small number of senior editors.

Staff and freelance contributors are expected to submit program materials that comply fully with RFE/RL requirements and require minimal editing.

A. Pre-Broadcast Editorial Controls

- Staff-generated news reports, features, analyses, commentaries:
 - All such materials are to be written sufficiently in advance of broadcast time to permit a careful reading by the service director or other designated deputy or senior editor for compliance with high journalistic standards and specifically with the RFE/RL Professional Code.
 - Staff members correct/modify texts in strict accordance with this editing, or voice the edited text directly.

RFE/RL Editorial Process**Page 4**

— Service directors are responsible for ensuring compliance with established guidelines for use of material obtained directly from news agencies or Internet, and guidelines on content of material in newscasts. All newscast material is either generated by NCA or approved by NCA.

- Bureau-generated and other freelance materials:

— The Bureau Chief, who is a staff member or highly experienced contractor/stringer, acts as the bureau's main point of contact with the service in Prague. He or she consults daily with the service director or designated senior editor to receive instructions on local coverage and to propose stories. The Bureau Chief in turn receives story proposals from and issues guidance to other in-country stringers/freelancers, who report on domestic news developments and local issues.

— Bureau Chief conducts initial review/editing of correspondent reports as time allows, then feeds these materials to Prague.

— Service director or another designated senior editor listens to correspondent feeds, edits them as required and may reject or defer broadcast if subtractive editing is not sufficient to ensure full compliance with standards.

— In all cases of material on sensitive or controversial topics, the Service Director personally reviews material before broadcast.

B. Real-Time Broadcast Review

The volume and complexity of the Russian program, with 12 or more hours daily of original broadcast material, requires a real-time review process to ensure that errors of fact and balance that may escape the editing process in fast-moving news developments are recognized and corrected quickly. The Russian service assigns a senior editor to listen to each hour of live news and current affairs programming and bring any deficiency to the moderator's attention for correction.

RFE/RL Editorial Process**Page 5**

This procedure may be followed in other services as the sensitivity of news developments requires.

III. Post-Broadcast Feedback and Program Review**A. Short-term feedback.**

Listeners are an important source of feedback and perspective on RFE/RL programming. They include not only target audiences but U.S. embassies in the broadcast area and often senior officials of audience countries, who depend on RFE/RL programs for news and analysis of their own countries and the region.

B. Independent Program Review

RFE/RL conducts frequent and regular reviews of its programming, using panels of U.S. based experts and in-country listeners selected with the assistance of RFE/RL's contract audience research unit, now a part of OMRI.

These dual panels listen to one-week segments of programming and rate them on numerical scales according to journalistic quality (information content, perceived accuracy and balance, analytic quality) and production quality (overall quality of sound, use of production music, voice quality.)

The panels also provide analytic critiques of programming that RFE/RL finds extremely useful in shaping programs to meet the evolving needs of its audiences.

[Rev. July 1996]

PREPARED STATEMENT

Richard Richter
 President, Asia Pacific Network

July 9, 1996

House Committee on International Relations

Subcommittee on International Operations and Human Rights

Chairman Smith, members of the committee, I'm honored to be here to tell you that the Asia Pacific Network is about to give birth to an exciting broadcast schedule – to fulfill the mandate you in Congress have given us.

First, I want to share with you an incident that occurred about two months ago. A young Chinese man came to my office. He had been in this country only ten days, having fled China after having been released from prison. He was one of the leaders of the democracy movement brutally crushed at Tiananmen Square. He told me that even after he had been “freed” by the Chinese government, he had been harassed, his life threatened.

Then he asked, “Where have you been? The Chinese people have been waiting for your broadcasts.”

So... Where have we been? What are we doing? When will we start broadcasting?

First, we've been in existence less than four months. We were incorporated on March 11, 1996. I officially started working the next day. I was the only employee.

Our office was – and still is a modest space at 1201 Connecticut Avenue, which we rent from our sister surrogate, Radio Free Europe/ Radio Liberty. Now, after an exhaustive survey of available real estate, we have settled on a permanent home at 2025 M Street, National Public Radio's former headquarters. We expect to move there in early October.

Our newest employee started yesterday. He's our vice president of programming and executive editor – Dan Southerland of the Washington Post. He spent 18 years as a foreign correspondent in Asia and is recognized as one of America's most authoritative reporters on Asian affairs. As the Post's Beijing bureau chief from 1985 to 90, he covered all the big stories... the economic reforms, politics, human rights, and, of course, Tiananmen, for which he received a Pulitzer nomination.

All of those subjects are going to be dealt with by APN. So, too, will we deal with all of the big issues... the stories that often cause tensions between our free society and China's repressive regime. We intend to probe the culture... to show the people – our listeners – that we value their culture. We want to explore their domestic concerns as their ancient traditions collide with modern mechanisms speeding toward the 21st century. Subjects like religion, population control, the environment.

We will do profiles of Chinese now living here. We will bring to light – and broadcast – contemporary literature and classics that are not available now because of official muzzling of free expression.

China is, of course, our number one target and we'll broadcast to the people there in Mandarin, Cantonese and Tibetan. And for the other countries to which we'll broadcast – Burma, Cambodia, Laos, North Korea and Vietnam – we'll take the same editorial approach as for China.

Our broadcast schedule? Before the end of the summer we'll start the Mandarin service. Then, as soon as we move into our permanent headquarters, we'll quickly add on our other language services – one at a time. And also expand Mandarin so that by the very early part of '97 we'll be on the air with our full schedule – 15 hours of programming a day.

Since day one we've been working to nail down our transmission network. All broadcasts will originate in Washington. Correspondents and stringers from all over Asia will feed their material to Washington. Then it will be fed out again via satellite to transmitters in Asia for broadcast. Negotiations are in progress for transmission leases from more than half a dozen different locations... sites on offshore islands and on the Asian mainland.

All of our planning is being done within the framework of a mandate to be "lean and mean." Our budget is indeed lean. As for "mean..." Asia's repressive regimes may think we are, but actually what we'll be doing is reporting fairly and objectively – an approach they don't welcome. I'm sure that there will be jamming of our transmissions. We expect it, and we have plans to deal with it.

In closing, I want to say that all of us at APN are pleased to have been chosen to implement what you in Congress have created ... a broadcast network to reach the people of Asia who have been denied the freedom to communicate.

Thank you all for your attention.

9 July 1996

SUMMARY OF A ROUNDTABLE DISCUSSION ON
THE FUTURE OF RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

The Senate Dirksen Office Building
Washington, D.C.
19 June 1996

Momentous changes are afoot in Eastern and Central Europe and the former Soviet Union. In particular, recent elections suggest that the full transition of nations in the region to democratic liberalism and free market economies is far from assured. The implications for U.S. interests should such a critical transformation not occur could be very significant.

In the past, the United States used its "Freedom Radios" -- Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty (RFE/RL) -- to promote the rule of law, respect for human rights, democracy and capitalism behind what was once the Iron Curtain. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union, the necessity for continuing to operate these assets at taxpayer expense was sharply questioned. Indeed, the Congress in 1994 directed that various national services of RFE/RL be spun-off or privatized, with the complete end of U.S. government underwriting to occur by 1999. RFE's Hungarian service has already been liquidated; the Czech service is scheduled to be off-the-books by September 1996.

The question arises: Does it still make sense to allow Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty to waste away? Or should these assets be preserved as important instruments by which the U.S. can encourage freedom to take root and nurture that process where it has actually begun?

In the interest of examining these and related topics, the Center for Security Policy, the Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom and *National Review* magazine joined forces on 19 June 1996 to host a blue-ribbon Roundtable Discussion on the Future of Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. Among the distinguished participants in the Roundtable were Senators Jon Kyl (R-AZ) and Joseph Biden (D-DE); Malcolm "Steve" Forbes, Jr., former Chairman of the Board for International Broadcasting; Ambassador Michael Zantovsky, the Czech Ambassador to the United States; and Kevin Klose, the President of RFE/RL. Also present were current and former international broadcasters including senior representatives of the U.S. Information Agency, Voice of America and RFE/RL; past and present members of the Freedom Radios' presidentially appointed oversight boards; and congressional staff and members of the press. (A complete list of participants is attached.)

The Roundtable featured a thorough discussion of: the changing geopolitical environment and the need for RFE/RL; the current status of the Freedom Radios and

the future of RFE/RL. This summary offers highlights of the principal issues considered by the participants. While no effort was made to define or formally to approve consensus positions or recommendations, the points summarized here reflect the sentiment evident in the overwhelming majority of comments -- namely, that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty continue to be unique and important instruments for advancing U.S. interests in their listening areas and should, accordingly, continue to receive financial underwriting from the federal government.

RFE/RL's Historic Mission

- o **The United States' main interest internationally is to promote security, well-being and the expansion of the community of nations that respect the democratic rights of their peoples.** This has been of some concern recently, as polling in Russia and elsewhere in the former Soviet empire has underscored the fact that considerable political uncertainty continues in the nations of Central Europe. It is easy to appreciate, when one examines this political uncertainty, that the battle of ideas is still being fought in the former Soviet sphere of influence.
- o The essence of the United States' ties to other democracies -- and to its European allies in particular -- is a philosophical and humane one. They share the same conception of the human being, namely, that each individual has inherent worth and individual rights, and the belief that the power of government should be limited by those individual rights. They also share the same concepts of the democratic electoral process, private property rights and freedom of conscience and speech.
- o Indeed, the Cold War was won by an idea -- freedom -- and the willingness and determination to defend that idea. Communism failed because it was built upon a wrong idea: an unnatural conception of man. Ideas, then, have powerful consequences in international affairs.
- o **Because of its belief in certain enduring principles and ideas, isolationism cannot be an option for the United States. It has a responsibility to share and foster these ideas, and in the past one of the best and *most cost-effective* ways to meet that responsibility has been by using Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty.**
- o During the Cold War, the "free radios" of RFE/RL helped to keep those living under the yoke of totalitarian communism informed about what was actually happening in their countries and around the world. The radios provided timely and unbiased coverage of news events in the languages of its audience -- a trusted alternative to the propaganda served up by the communists' state-run media outlets.
- o RFE/RL was particularly helpful in keeping the populace of many countries informed about the activities of domestic opposition groups, information that their governments were desperately trying to suppress.

- o RFE/RL played a valuable role *after* the momentous changes of 1989 as well. In the chaotic media environment of the time, RFE/RL was able to set a standard in the region for independent and professional broadcasting, a standard that many journalists in fledgling democracies such as Czechoslovakia used to rate their own work.
- o RFE/RL also served as a valuable source of news concerning the economic transformations that began occurring in many parts of the Radios' listening area. They provided needed information as well about existing and successful free market economies, helping to foster popular support for privatization, investment and trade.
- o With its tradition of independence from the governments in the countries on the receiving end of their broadcasts, RFE/RL offered a model for freedom of the press to which democratic reformers throughout the Radios' listening areas could aspire.

RFE/RL Today

- o Today as in the past, a viable democracy requires an informed citizenry. That is the first, the cardinal principle of establishing functioning self-government and civil societies.
- o The Radios' mission remains to develop an informed citizenry across the region served by RFE/RL. They accomplish it in unique ways that are not matched by any other international information service or radio broadcast service.
- o As a result, RFE/RL's listenership remains high and committed. Independent surveys indicate that the Radios' programming reaches up to sixty percent of the "elites" in the countries receiving their broadcasts. Importantly, those most committed to democratic reform and transformation are devoted listeners.
- o Importantly, RFE/RL moved its operations from Munich, Germany, to Prague in the Czech Republic roughly one year ago. This move permitted dramatic economies to be realized, reducing the annual operating budget from some \$220 million per year to approximately \$72 million (of which nearly \$20 million is earmarked to pay outstanding pension obligations).
- o These savings have been made possible, in part, by the Czech government's provision of superb broadcasting facilities virtually *gratis*. The lower cost of living and labor regulations in the Czech Republic have also permitted the operation to become far more efficient without sacrificing broadcast quality or hours. For example, in Munich, RFE/RL had about 1,100 staff members, excluding engineering, but including the Research Institute. It now has a total table of organizations of 419 persons in Prague, in the United States and worldwide.

- o The move to Prague has had a number of other benefits, as well. It has allowed RFE/RL greater access to the region to which the Radios broadcast than was the case in Munich. Visa requirements, for example, are less strict in the Czech Republic, allowing for easier movement of RFE/RL employees to and from headquarters. Munich is a provincial city, whereas Prague is a true world capital. The steady stream of heads of state, foreign ministers, trade missions, etc., makes Prague a very lively crossroads for the exchange of ideas and affords the Radios an opportunity to subject officials from target nations to Western-style scrutiny.
- o The Radios also serve as an invaluable training ground for a number of young and talented media professionals from the Czech Republic and other post-communist countries.
- o Another important change made possible by the end of the Cold War is the opportunity for RFE/RL to operate from target nations that still resemble "denied territory" — i.e., nations where individual freedoms have not yet been fully established or are honored in the breach. For example, the RFE/RL bureau in Minsk, Belarus recently contributed to the progress of democracy there when it offered the parliament's leader a vehicle by which to encourage the Belarussian people to vote in recent parliamentary elections, an opportunity he was denied by the state-controlled media. Turnout proved sufficiently high to seat the parliament.

Terminating Broadcast Services:

- o As part of its downsizing, however, RFE/RL has begun to eliminate broadcast services to areas judged to have a "free press." The Radios have already liquidated the Hungarian service and are scheduled to eliminate the Czech service at the end of September 1996. Under current plans, the Polish service will be the next to go, with the entire operation to be "privatized" by the end of 1999.
- o Unfortunately, according to Freedom House's 1996 report on freedom of the press, of the twenty-one countries to which RFE/RL broadcasts, only *five* are considered to have a free press. The other sixteen have either a partially-free press or they have no press freedom at all.
- o In the latter sixteen, examples abound of: covert and overt government interference in the media; the exertion by the government of economic pressure on the media; the misusing of state-controlled media for electoral purposes; and the misuse of the media by the government to spread ethnic and national hatreds. Such activities argue for the continued presence of RFE/RL in these countries.
- o A case study of the difference Free Radios can make in "post-communist" societies with little or no press freedom might be that of the former Yugoslavia. Until recently, RFE/RL was barred by U.S. government policy from broadcasting to the Yugoslav

people, denying them an antidote to the ethnic hatred-fomenting propaganda routinely spewed forth as "news" by state-controlled media. The absence of alternative sources of information appears to have contributed directly to the genocidal mayhem that has been perpetrated there. Once its South Balkans service finally was allowed to begin operations, RFE/RL's good offices have been employed to foster dialogue between the previously warring factions and to encourage the faithful implementation of the Dayton peace accords. Indeed, the Radios' linguistically-integrated Slavic Service affords Serbians, Croatians and Bosnian Muslims an opportunity to work together in programming -- a civilizing and democratizing influence in the war-torn region.

- o Even in those nations where press freedoms are being generally observed -- notably, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland -- political uncertainties and economic conditions are combining to raise questions about the wisdom of "spinning off" their respective services from RFE/RL and the feasibility of their sustained operation as independent broadcast entities. For example, the media in such countries may still be reluctant to broadcast certain stories that a truly independent media organization such as RFE/RL would broadcast. Recently in Poland, for instance, the head of state television and radio commented that democratically-elected officials should not be criticized in the media because they represent the will of the people.

The Future of RFE/RL

Recent developments have precipitated a series of challenges for the Freedom Radios. Comments made in the course of the Roundtable Discussion identified the following as among the most serious of these challenges for the future operation of RFE/RL:

Maintaining RFE/RL's Independence and Integrity:

Concerns were expressed by a number of participants about the ability of the Freedom Radios to maintain their independence from their target governments were the U.S. government to stop supporting them. As the economies of many countries that receive RFE/RL broadcasts are in very poor shape, commercial news services may simply be a luxury that the private sector cannot afford to provide. "Spinning off" the Radios under such circumstances might amount to driving them into the arms of regimes interested in converting the Freedom Radios into new outlets for officially sanctioned propaganda.

A warning was also sounded that this danger could befall the Radios even *before* privatization was completed. RFE/RL's increasing use of stringers and other local hires, notably for the purpose of broadcasting cost-effectively from remote regions and/or "denied territory," gives rise to the possibility that the Freedom Radios might inadvertently be used to disseminate material contrary to their charters and to U.S. interests. This can be one of the unintended results of hiring personnel who have little or no first-hand experience with the liberties and values of the West.

The RFE/RL management acknowledged this danger and vowed to continue to monitor the broadcasts closely and to take corrective action promptly where necessary. It noted, moreover, that *every director* -- many with long experience in the Radios' surrogate broadcasting business -- in charge of one of the 19 services that had operated from Munich made the move to Prague. In doing so, they often brought along as well the best and the brightest of their employees. This fact is the more remarkable since substantial severance pay-outs were available to them in Germany. They nonetheless followed the Radios to Prague out of a belief that it offered an opportunity to perform their ongoing mission from an advanced base, giving the United States a great leg-up the world-wide struggle of ideas.

In addition to the continuity provided by such senior personnel, another means of protecting the Radios against undesirable influences is the training provided by RFE/RL to the majority of its new employees. This practice also benefits the target nations by enhancing the quality of their respective journalistic corps.

Avoiding Duplication with Other U.S. International Broadcast Services:

An issue that provoked much discussion was the question whether RFE/RL really offered unique programming or substantially duplicated that available elsewhere, notably from the U.S. Information Agency's Voice of America. The idea that the Freedom Radios are redundant was strongly disputed not only by individuals currently or previously associated with RFE/RL and its oversight board but also by senior officials from USIA and VOA. The latter stated definitively that they believed the two services perform complementary functions and that the role of RFE/RL remains extremely important in the world.

Several participants noted, in addition, that a different atmosphere and freedom of journalistic expression existed at Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty as opposed to VOA, arising from certain editorial restrictions that posed problems with day-to-day broadcasting on the official international radio service of the United States government. To varying degrees, these differences are evident to the listening audience which often regards RFE/RL as "their" radio versus the U.S. radio services provided by Washington through VOA.

Determining When the Freedom Radios Will No Longer Be Needed:

There was considerable discussion of what criteria should be used to determine when a particular country no longer "needs" RFE/RL. Although such a calculus is not an exact science, there are certain indicators that can be looked for: free and periodic elections, a controlled police and military, an independent judiciary, a free press and the establishment of basic freedoms such as freedom of assembly.

Countries in Central Asia, such as Uzbekistan, are having political pressures placed on them by Russia and Iran. The importance of maintaining the free radios there should be obvious. In a similar vein, in countries where democracy is clearly flourishing such as Poland and Hungary, many of the communist rulers are beginning to come back to power.

Although there is good reason to be optimistic about the future course of the latter states, there is no way to tell what the future will hold.

Clearly, as long as such uncertainties persist, a basic proposition should be borne in mind: It is far easier and far less costly to retain the capabilities of RFE/RL now than to have to try to create them anew should they prove to be needed again in the future. To leave RFE/RL in place is a relatively inexpensive insurance policy. The fact that the Freedom Radios continue to operate, moreover, may contribute to the continued expansion and maturing of democracy in their target countries — thereby obviating the need for the vastly more costly steps that might be necessary to deal with renascent totalitarianism in the region.

Conclusion

There seemed to be general agreement among participants in this Roundtable Discussion that there is a continuing and clear need for RFE/RL to broadcast to the former Soviet empire. While differences were evident about the desirability of indefinitely maintaining the Free Radios' operations in nations like the Czech Republic where democracy and a free press are beginning to take root, the Roundtable clearly showed that the imminent elimination of the Czech service and the subsequent termination of all remaining U.S. government support for RFE/RL should be promptly reconsidered.

SYMPOSIUM ON
THE FUTURE OF RADIO FREE EUROPE/RADIO LIBERTY

Sponsored by:
Center for Security Policy
National Review

Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom

628 Dirksen Senate Office Building
19 June 1996, 8:30 am - 12:00 pm

PARTICIPANTS LIST

Hon. Joseph Biden, Jr.	U.S. Senate
Mr. Yaroslav Bihun	<i>Ukrainian Weekly</i>
Ms. Rinelda Bliss	Center for Security Policy
Mr. Joseph Bruns	U.S. Information Agency
Ms. Stacy Burdett	Anti-Defamation League
Mr. Volodymyr Chornodolsky	Ukrainian National Information Service
Ms. Marie Ciliberti	Voice of America
Mr. Pranas V. Cizunas	Joint Baltic American National Committee
Mr. Geoffrey Cowan	Voice of America
Dr. Greg D'Alessio	Senate Armed Services Committee
Mr. Ismail Dahiyat	Voice of America
Mr. William Dal Col	
Mr. Sherwood Demitz	Voice of America
Ms. Oksana Dragan	Voice of America
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Mr. John Genys	Lithuanian American Council
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Mr. Clark S. Judge	White House Writers Group, Inc.
Mr. Floyd Justice	Department of State
Mr. Adrian Karatnytsky	Freedom House
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Hon. Jon L. Kyl	U.S. Senate
Mr. Audrius Lazdinis	U.S.-Baltic Foundation
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 John Adams Associates
 Office of Senator Hatch

 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
Deutsche Presse-Agentur GmbH
 Armenian Assembly of America
 Radio Free Europe
 Center for Security Policy
 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
 American Enterprise Institute
 Center for Strategic and International Studies
National Review
National Review
 Radio America

 Armenian Assembly of America
 Voice of America
 IREX
 Hogan & Hartson
 U.S. Association of Former Members of Congress
 Open Media Research Institute
 Nixon Center for Peace and Freedom
 National Policy Forum
 Ukrainian National Information Service
 Voice of America
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 Department of State
 Center for Security Policy
 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty
 Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe
 Embassy of the Czech Republic
 Alcalde & Fay



BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

July 11, 1996

The Honorable Christopher H. Smith
Chairman
Subcommittee on International Operations
and Human Rights
Committee on International Relations
House of Representatives

Dear Mr. Chairman:

You have asked for an assessment of the impact of a 50% cut in APN's requested \$10,000,000 appropriation for FY'97. The result would be nothing short of devastation.

We have submitted a FY'97 budget request which will allow APN to begin its operations as mandated in the U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994. In order to do so, we had anticipated utilizing \$4.4 million of the funds appropriated in FY'96 to supplement the \$10 million which has been requested.

While doing so would exhaust our reserve, it was our hope that we would demonstrate in our first year, the worth and effectiveness of broadcasting to all of the totalitarian states in east Asia that the Congress had anticipated.

Should our budget be cut in half, leaving a total of only \$9.4 million, we could only hope to initiate one or at most two of our eight language services. Such a reduction would clearly fail to fulfill the mission established in the Broadcasting Act and would undercut the intent of the Congressional mandate.

We greatly appreciate your efforts to help prevent such a disastrous action.

Very Sincerely,

David Burke
Chairman
Broadcasting Board of Governors

VOICE OF AMERICA, RFE/RL & WORLDNET TELEVISION

Overview: U.S. Broadcasting to the former Yugoslavia

Since the outbreak of conflict in the former Yugoslavia in 1991, VOA, RFE/RL and WORLDNET have substantially increased programming resources to the area to counter ethnic hate propaganda in local media, provide truthful information, analysis and discussion, and to encourage peace and reconciliation. Audiences for U.S. programs have grown significantly; a spring 1996 public opinion survey in Bosnia conducted by USIA determined that VOA and RFE have the highest listenership of the foreign radio broadcasters heard in Bosnia. (A copy of this survey is attached.)

VOICE OF AMERICA

- VOA, which has broadcast in Serbo-Croatian for more than 40 years, has expanded programming to the conflict states four-fold -- from 8:75 hours weekly in combined Serbo-Croatian broadcasts in 1991 to 34 hours weekly today (10.5 hours in Croatian, 21 hours in Serbian, and 2.5 hours in Bosnian, begun in March 1996).
- The number of VOA affiliates broadcasting its vernacular language programs on local transmitters in the former Yugoslavia has grown from two in 1991 to 24, including six in Bosnia -- all at no cost. VOA programs are also broadcast on shortwave and on powerful medium wave (AM) transmitters in the region. An additional nine VOA affiliates in the former Yugoslavia broadcast VOA Europe (our 24-hour news and music network) and/or VOA Albanian (which has an extensive audience among the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo and Macedonia).
- In January 1996, VOA launched a daily half-hour news and current affairs program in English, Dateline: Bosnia, heard via VOA Europe affiliates.
- Under grant funding from the Carnegie Corporation, VOA has sent or is sending reporters from its Current Affairs (English), Croatian, Hungarian, Turkish, and Serbian Services to Bosnia and surrounding countries to prepare materials on the election, civil reconstruction, and conflict resolution.
- VOA opened an office in Sarajevo in June 1996 that can be used by WORLDNET staffers, enabling IBB to provide consistently thorough nationwide coverage of the campaign and election.
- More than two dozen VOA correspondents and stringers cover Bosnia on a regular basis. VOA News Division coverage of Bosnia is being enhanced in the crucial final weeks before elections, with an additional stringer and an additional staff correspondent traveling in the region. Language service coverage also has been stepped up, with staff reporters rotating in on a regular basis, and stringer reports from Bosnia have increased significantly. In addition to Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian, VOA's other vernacular

services share material and "piggyback" on each other's interviews, significantly strengthening coverage in the area. Transcripts of the VOA reports and discussions are often reprinted in local newspapers.

- Since March 1996, VOA has sponsored three Election Coverage Workshops for 29 Bosnian journalists. In addition, six radio and TV broadcasters went to Dayton, Ohio; 12 print journalists went to Harrisburg and Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; and 11 radio broadcasters went to Little Rock, Arkansas.
- VOA is dedicating 90 minutes each Tuesday -- 30 minutes each in Bosnian, Croatian, and Serbian broadcasts -- exclusively to election-related news.
- In September 1995, VOA established a family reunification hotline, which has reunited more than 35 families separated by the war in Bosnia.

RFE/RL

- RFE/RL launched its South Slavic Service in January 1994, broadcasting 21 hours weekly of original news, current affairs, and discussion programs focused on developments in Bosnia, Serbia/Montenegro, and Croatia.
- As an alternative to state-controlled local media, RFE/RL's service has built an unparalleled network of more than 30 stringers in the former Yugoslavia, 15 of them in Bosnia, operating through bureaus in Sarajevo, Belgrade, and Zagreb. Other stringers report from Brussels, London, Paris, Bonn, Moscow, Athens, Cairo, Washington, and New York.
- Unlike other international broadcasters, the RFE/RL service is linguistically integrated, with Bosnian, Serbian, and Croatian speakers participating together. This enables the service to provide daily dialogue across ethnic barriers throughout the conflict area, aimed at conflict resolution. Transcripts of the service's reports and discussions are often reprinted in local newspapers.
- One or more hours of RFE/RL's South Slavic programs are broadcast on four independent FM stations in Serbia/Montenegro, and four in Bosnia. Programs are also broadcast on IBB's powerful medium wave transmitter near Munich and on shortwave.
- The South Slavic service has provided comprehensive coverage of the war crimes tribunal in The Hague, including continuous audio feeds available from the proceedings.
- Since July 15, RFE's South Slavic program has devoted its third daily hour to a special program on Bosnian elections. Focused on election-related political issues, party platforms, and candidates, the program is broadcast via satellite to local Bosnian affiliates. The first half-hour is carried by IBB's medium wave transmitter near Munich and on shortwave.
- On August 2, RFE/RL plans to launch a weekly half-hour TV election program for Bosnia.
- A dedicated satellite link is being established between the Sarajevo bureau and RFE/RL's Prague headquarters to enhance program production quality and the flow of information from Bosnia.
- Over the past three years, RFE/RL's Russian, Bulgarian, and Romanian services have intensified coverage of the conflict to ensure accurate,

balanced reporting to neighboring countries and the former Soviet Union. The services have drawn on highly regarded freelance correspondents in Bosnia, Serbia, and Croatia.

WORLDNET TELEVISION

- Interactive teleconferences are one of WORLDNET's most effective tools, enabling local journalists in the region to pose questions to U.S. newsmakers like Ambassadors Holbrooke, Galucci, Montgomery, and Kornblum. NTV 99 in Sarajevo has carried the Dialogues live; other stations have rebroadcast portions of the Q&A. The programs always lead to next day print stories. Ambassador Montgomery's Dialogue appearance April 19 garnered stories in Sarajevo's three major dailies. In 1991, WORLDNET produced nine interactives to the former Yugoslavia. In 1992, 15 programs were produced; in 1993, nine programs; in 1994, 10 programs; in 1995, 14 programs. So far in 1996, eleven programs have been produced. Nearly all of these programs have focused on U.S. policy, human rights, democracy, elections, and the peace process.
- WORLDNET's Newsfile -- daily feeds of 45 second to 2 minute news items -- carries a daily story or soundbite with a U.S. angle on Bosnia, from a Presidential speech, to Secretary of State travels, to departmental spokesmen on a breaking news development. WORLDNET has begun providing weekday Newsfile feeds to three affiliates in Sarajevo and Tuzla; VOA's Serbian and Croatian staff assist in voicing these feeds. WORLDNET began translating Newsfile stories into Serbian in July 1992. Using VOA staffers, WORLDNET began translating Newsfile into Croatian in February 1996 and into Bosnian in March 1996.
- WORLDNET programming is regularly carried on three signed affiliates in Bosnia: NTV-99 (the 3rd most popular station in Sarajevo with 61% viewership), TV Hayat (the 2nd most popular station in Sarajevo with 74% viewership), and RTVBH, the country's biggest station, garnering the largest share in most markets.

Table 177:*How much confidence do you have in international media?*

	Bosnian Serb	Bosnian Croat	Bosnian Muslim
	4/96	4/96	4/96
Great deal	2%	4%	11%
Fair amount	12	34	46
Total Confidence	14	38	57
Not very much	33	52	36
No confidence at all	52	7	6
Total Non-Confidence	85	59	42
Don't know/ No answer	2	3	2

Table 178:

As you may know, it is possible to hear broadcasts from radio stations that originate outside of Bosnia Hercegovina. Please tell me in an average week, about how often do you listen to Voice of America (VOA)?

	Bosnian Serb	Bosnian Croat	Bosnian Muslim
	4/96	4/96	4/96
Six to seven times	2%	2%	3%
Three to five times	3	2	4
One or two times	9	5	10
Less often	19	17	24
Never	61	72	59
Don't know/ No answer	6	1	1

Table 180:

Please tell me in an average week how often do you listen to VOA Europe?

	Bosnian Serb	Bosnian Croat	Bosnian Muslim
	4/96	4/96	4/96
Six to seven times	2%	—	3%
Three to five times	2	—	3
One or two times	6	3	9
Less often	20	14	23
Never	64	82	61
Don't know/ No answer	7	1	1

Table 181:

Please tell me in an average week how often do you listen to BBC?

	Bosnian Serb	Bosnian Croat	Bosnian Muslim
	4/96	4/96	4/96
Six to seven times	1%	—	1%
Three to five times	1	1	2
One or two times	5	2	3
Less often	17	10	16
Never	69	86	77
Don't know/ No answer	8	1	2

Table 182:

Please tell me in an average week how often do you listen to Radio Free Europe (RFE)?

	Bosnian Serb	Bosnian Croat	Bosnian Muslim
	4/96	4/96	4/96
Six to seven times	1%	--	6%
Three to five times	4	1	8
One or two times	8	3	12
Less often	18	11	24
Never	63	84	50
Don't know/ No answer	7	1	1

Section 13 Domestic and International Media

Domestically: Confidence Up, Television Used Most

The proportion of Bosnians who have confidence in the domestic media has increased since December to the point where majorities in all three groups now have at least a fair amount of confidence (Table 171). Bosnian Muslims retain the most confidence in the domestic media, while Bosnian Croats and Serbs tend to be less confident -- a third in each case have little or none.

As in December, television remains the public's primary source for news and information about Bosnia (Tables 172-173). A majority in each of the three groups turn to television most often, followed by radio and newspapers. Television's share has increased since December, likely because it is more readily available with the end of the conflict and fewer disruptions of the power supply. Radio's second-place status is confirmed by the fact that more rely on it as their second most important media source than any other medium.

Within each of the three groups, media usage gravitates to outlets controlled or sponsored by elements of that group (Tables 174-176). Bosnian Croats most use state-run Croatian television and radio as well as Croatian radio broadcast from Mostar. Bosnian Muslims rely most on the SDA-controlled television and radio of Bosnia Hercegovina (RTVBiH). Bosnian Serbs on the other hand gravitate to television and radio broadcasts controlled by the Serb regime in Pale -- including rebroadcasts of Belgrade media -- and, to a lesser degree, to radio broadcasts from Banja Luka.

As with broadcast media, Bosnians tend to read published news generated by sources within their respective ethnic group. Bosnian Croats rely on the increasingly Croatian government-controlled *Slobodna Dalmacija*. Among Bosnian Muslims, no one periodical dominates. Papers relied on most include the Sarajevo daily *Oslobodenje*, the SDA paper *Dnevni Avaz* and the Sarajevo political weekly *Slobodne Bosne*. Bosnian Serb readership is highest for the independent Sarajevo daily *Vecernje Novine*, the Bosnian Serb sponsored *Srpsko Oslobojenje* and *Politika*.

Internationally: Confidence Varies, VOA and RFE Most Used

Confidence in international media, which among all groups is lower than for domestic media, varies substantially by group (Table 177). About six in ten Bosnian Muslims express confidence in international media, compared to four in ten Bosnian Croats and one in ten Bosnian Serbs. Among Bosnian Serbs, half say they have no confidence at all, likely believing themselves to have been villified internationally by the media.

Foreign radio listening also varies across the ethnic groups. Bosnian Croats are less likely to tune in a foreign radio broadcast than Bosnian Muslims or Serbs. Of the foreign radio broadcasters heard in Bosnia, BBC has the lowest regular listenership and VOA and RFE the highest (Tables 178-181).

Table 171:*How much confidence do you have in domestic media?*

	Bosnian Serb		Bosnian Croat		Bosnian Muslim	
	12/95	4/96	12/95	4/96	12/95	4/96
Great deal	11%	14%	9%	15%	24%	27%
Fair amount	38	48	39	48	51	57
Total Confidence	49	62	48	63	75	84
Not very much	29	30	42	31	22	13
No confidence at all	16	6	10	6	3	2
Total Non-Confidence	45	36	52	37	25	15
Don't know/ No answer	8	2	1	-	1	-

Table 172:

In general, what one media source do you rely on most for information about important events and problems in our country?

	Bosnian Serb		Bosnian Croat		Bosnian Muslim	
	12/95	4/96	12/95	4/96	12/95	4/96
Newspapers	15%	12%	17%	11%	6%	7%
Magazines	2	2	1	1	1	1
Radio	23	22	23	15	18	15
TV	38	53	51	68	71	77
Word of mouth	16	10	7	6	2	—
Don't know/ No answer	6	1	1	—	1	—

Table 173:

In general, what one media source do you rely on next most often for information about important events and problems in our country?

	Bosnian Serb		Bosnian Croat		Bosnian Muslim	
	12/95	4/96	12/95	4/96	12/95	4/96
Newspapers	13%	17%	24%	27%	21%	14%
Magazines	3	2	4	2	3	2
Radio	18	44	26	38	52	62
TV	26	26	38	27	18	19
Word of mouth	23	9	6	6	5	3
Don't know/ No answer	17	2	3	1	2	1

Table 174:*Which of the following television channels do you watch most?*

	Bosnian Serb	Bosnian Croat	Bosnian Muslim
	4/96	4/96	4/96
RTV BIH	2%	3%	78%
TV Serbia-Belgrade	26	--	--
TV Sarajevo	1	1	1
TV Zenica	--	--	4
TV Tuzla	--	--	3
TV Hajat	--	--	5
SRT / SRNA	52	--	1
99 Studio/TV 99	--	--	4
HRT/ HTV	16	94	--
International	--	1	--
Satellite TV	--	2	2
Local	--	--	2
Other	1	--	--
Don't know/ No answer	2	--	1

Table 175:

Which of the following radio stations do you listen to most?

	Bosnian Serb	Bosnian Croat	Bosnian Muslim
	4/96	4/96	4/96
Studio 99/Radio 99	--	--	4%
RTV BIH	1	1	53
R-Hajat	--	--	9
Radio M	1	1	5
Hergo-Bosna	--	41	--
Belgrade Radio	19	1	--
ASK	--	--	--
SRT / SRNA	36	--	--
HRT	--	24	--
International	--	--	1
RFE	1	--	1
VOA	1	--	--
VOA Europe	1	--	--
Radio Zagreb	1	12	--
Local	3	15	4
Radio CD	--	--	2
Radio Zenica	--	--	9
Banja Luka	7	--	--
Kameleon	--	--	2
Radio Saigon	--	--	3
Radio BIG	18	--	--
Other	11	3	2
Don't know/ No answer	2	2	1

Table 182:

Please tell me in an average week how often do you listen to Radio Free Europe (RFE)?

	Bosnian Serb	Bosnian Croat	Bosnian Muslim
	4/96	4/96	4/96
Six to seven times	1%	--	6%
Three to five times	4	1	8
One or two times	8	3	12
Less often	18	11	24
Never	63	84	50
Don't know/ No answer	7	1	1

Vladimir Matusevitch
 10 Vendome Ct.
 Bethesda, MD 20817
 Tel & Fax: (301) 365-9575

July 29, 1996

The Honorable David Funderburk
 Subcommittee on International
 Operations and Human Rights
 House of Representatives Washington, D C. 20515

Dear Congressman Funderburk.

Having listened to the tape and read the transcript of the hearing of July 9th on international broadcasting in your subcommittee, I was astonished by the degree to which the witnesses who replied to questions about RFE/RL were "economical with the truth", as they say in such cases in Great Britain.

Answering your question about Congressman Lantos's letter on the anti-American and anti-Semitic tone of broadcasts by Radio Liberty in Russian, a member of the Broadcasting Board of Governors, Ms. Cheryl Halpern, went so far in this direction as to make me wonder whether she was not engaging in premeditated deception.

She stated that "These charges were raised when the BIB was still in existence" and that she had then, with two of her colleagues, read the transcripts and satisfied herself that "there is no anti-Semitism, neither directly nor through overtone, in those particular broadcasts that were referenced"

But the "particular broadcasts" to which Congressman Lantos referred in his letter of June 5th were transmitted in *November 1995* and *May 1996*, while the Board for the International Broadcasting ceased to exist in *August 1995*. I enclose a copy of transcript containing Ms. Halpern's statement, together with copies of transcripts of the three broadcasts in question.


Thus, Ms. Halpern could hardly have listened to tapes and read the transcripts of these broadcasts while she and her colleagues were members of the BIB and her statement at the hearing that she had done so flies directly in the face of reality.

In her short statement Ms. Halpern twice contrived to emphasize her Jewishness as something that lent her judgments special weight. I too am Jewish, although, unlike Ms. Halpern, I lived the first 30 years of my life in the Soviet Union, experiencing anti-Semitism on my own skin practically every day.

One of the cynical aspects of Soviet reality was that, at moments when state-sponsored anti-Semitism was on the rise, the authorities arranged for public statements by certain prominent Soviet Jews, who assured the world that there was no anti-Semitism in the Soviet Union and that all discussions of it were slander. The motives of these "witnesses" were unseemly, but at least comprehensible. Ms. Halpern's statement reminds of those made by those Soviet Jews, but I simply cannot understand her motives.

The essence of the matter is not Ms. Halpern's motivation, however, but the fact that her evasion of this issue attests to the fact that something is seriously wrong with the programs of Radio Liberty and that only a special, serious hearing in your subcommittee can put an end to the transformation of an American radio station into something which betrays the interests of those whom it is supposed to serve.

Yours sincerely



Vladimir Matusevitch
 Former Director, Russian Service
 Radio Liberty

VOA and RFE/RL Consolidation

Question 1:

OVER THE PAST TWO YEARS THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING BUREAU HAS BEEN ABLE TO ACHIEVE A GREAT DEAL IN TERMS OF THE CONSOLIDATION. PLEASE EXPLAIN HOW PROGRAM AND ENGINEERING REDUCTIONS HAVE BEEN SHARED BETWEEN VOA AND RFE/RL BROADCASTS? ARE FURTHER CONSOLIDATION ACTIONS EXPECTED, SUCH AS CLOSING OF ADDITIONAL RELAY STATIONS?

Answer:

Consolidation of US government international broadcasting has prompted deep reductions in both VOA and RFE/RL broadcasting operations, including over 400 direct broadcast programming hours (via IBB-owned or leased shortwave and medium wave transmitters) per week in total. Reductions have been applied carefully to satisfy the mission of each broadcaster to the greatest extent possible within available resources.

All overlapping hours of language broadcasts by VOA and RFE/RL were eliminated as of October 1, 1995. This elimination of the previous competition for the same listeners at the same hours now allows audiences to listen sequentially to both the global broadcaster VOA and the regional broadcaster RFE/RL.

VOA and RFE/RL have also consolidated physical facilities in a number of areas, for example:

- 1) RL's New York center has moved into the VOA news bureau in lower Manhattan, permitting closure of the RL facility.
- 2) VOA's placement office has moved into RFE/RL's new offices in Prague. This co-location has allowed VOA to relinquish its previous office in Munich and it facilitates another arena for cooperation between the broadcasters.
- 3) RL is now using the IBB's Philippines Relay Station to transmit Radio Liberty Russian to the Russian Far East and Siberia, another important first.

The reductions in transmitter hours and the effective shared use of consolidated network assets have also permitted significant relay station facility reductions.

Reductions to facilities previously dedicated to VOA use:

Bethany Relay Station closed

Greenville Relay Station: one site closed; staffing and operations reduced at remaining sites

Wertachtal: lease terminated

Reductions to facilities previously dedicated to RFE/RL use:

Maxoqueira Relay Station closed

Gloria Relay Station: broadcast operations terminated; staffing reduced in preparation for final disposition of station

Biblis Relay Station: broadcast operations minimized to occasional stand-by use; staffing reduced in preparation for final disposition of station

Holzkirchen Relay Station: Shortwave broadcast operations reduced; staffing reduced in preparation for final disposition of shortwave facilities; medium wave operations will remain

Further consolidation actions, beyond carrying out the reductions summarized above, may also be necessary in the future to satisfy evolving broadcast requirements within diminished budgets. These actions may include additional program reductions and relay station closings.

VOA's China Focus Program

Question 2:

IN THE FY 95 APPROPRIATIONS BILL, FUNDS WERE AVAILABLE FOR VOA'S CHINA FOCUS PROGRAM. WHAT IS BEING DONE THIS FISCAL YEAR IN TERMS OF THE CHINA FOCUS PROGRAM?

Answer:

China Forum, the televised weekly Mandarin news and current affairs discussion program added a call-in segment in September 1995. An additional televised radio hour per week will be launched at the end of FY 96, called Economic Forum, which will provide business news and discussions on the economy of Asia. A call-in component also will be added to this program, which will originate in the new TV studio at the VOA headquarters.

A twelve part discussion series, moderated by the distinguished China scholar Orville Schell, is being held throughout FY 96. A new call-in radio show in Mandarin is produced five days a week.

Rotating correspondencies have been established to serve the Korean, Cambodian, Lao and Vietnamese services. This allows us to maintain a cost effective presence in these areas without establishing permanent bureaus.

Advertising on VOA Broadcasts

Question 3:

MR. BURKE, THE STATE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZATION BILL HR 1561, THAT WAS VETOED BY THE PRESIDENT, INCLUDED A PROVISION AUTHORIZING A PILOT PROGRAM TO INITIATE ADVERTISING ON VOA BROADCASTS. IS THERE ANY CONSIDERATION TO PURSUE THIS IDEA AS A MEANS TO OFFSET REDUCTIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCAST BUDGET?

Answer:

VOA currently receives some monies, goods, and services from USAID, the Carnegie Foundation, and a number of US corporations pursuant to the efforts of the Bureau's Office of Business Development. The success of this effort, thus far, stems in large part from funding provided by USAID and Carnegie Foundation attendant to VOA initiatives involving conflict resolution in the former Yugoslavia and Central Africa. We have been less successful in acquiring underwriting support from private corporations to which we extend on-air acknowledgements of their support much like that provided by public broadcasting stations in the U.S.

So while it is reasonable to assume that initiating advertising on VOA would be helpful, we doubt that early on it could offset noticeable budget reductions experienced by the International Broadcasting Bureau. Nonetheless, having the authority to accept tasteful corporate advertising will give us a chance to test the waters, something we are not now able to do.

It is worth noting that advertisers seem to favor on-going programming while underwriters seem to favor new programming initiatives.

Asia Pacific Network/Radio Free Asia Office Space

Question 4:

MR. RICHTER, IN YOUR STATEMENT YOU INDICATE YOU WILL BE MOVING YOUR OFFICES FOR RFA. WHAT IS THE LEASE COST FOR THIS SPACE AND HOW DOES THAT COMPARE WITH THE COST FOR THE PREVIOUS OFFICE SPACE? WHAT IS THE SIZE OF THE OFFICE, AND HOW MANY STRINGERS DO YOU EXPECT TO HIRE? WHAT ARE YOUR PERSONNEL COSTS? PLEASE PROVIDE FOR THE RECORD A BREAK DOWN OF THE RFA BUDGET.

Answer:

SPACE

APN/RFA's studio and office space at 2025 M Street will occupy 27,475 square feet. The facility will house seven language services, studio, and technical facilities, and research and administrative support staff. The lease cost is \$23.50/sq. ft./year.

APN/RFA's start-up staff is currently located in 6,105 sq. ft. of space which is being provided by RFE/RL at a cost of \$31.85/sq. ft. This space can accommodate only one language service.

STRINGERS

The APN/RFA financial plan calls for two categories of stringers. The first is for "super stringers" who will be guaranteed a certain compensation for a given period. There will be three (3) Mandarin "super stringers" and one (1) each for Tibet, Burma, Vietnam, North Korea, Cambodia, and Laos. In addition, there will be stringers who will provide material on a per story basis: ten (10) for Mandarin and five (5) each for the other services.

PERSONNEL COSTS

The budget calls for total personnel costs of \$4,964,064, including all full-time broadcast personnel, and technical, administrative, and support staff. The costs for stringers total \$946,000.

BUDGET

The budget is attached.

ASIA PACIFIC NETWORK

FINANCIAL PLAN FY 1997 thru FY 2001 (1)

	FY1997	FY1998	FY1999	FY2000	FY2001	Total
Direct Labor (2)	1,079,688	1,060,679	1,092,396	1,125,168	1,158,923	5,466,753
Administration	530,000	545,900	562,277	579,145	596,520	2,813,842
Programming Division						
Services						
Mandarin Service	621,963	640,210	659,148	678,199	698,575	3,299,062
Tibetan Service	77,000	77,000	77,000	77,000	77,000	388,000
Burmese Service	237,500	244,625	251,964	259,523	267,308	1,260,920
North Korea Service	312,500	321,875	331,531	341,477	351,722	1,659,105
Cambodian Service	237,500	244,625	251,964	259,523	267,308	1,260,920
Laotian Service	237,500	244,625	251,964	259,523	267,308	1,260,920
Bureaus						
Hong Kong Bureau	190,000	195,700	201,571	207,616	213,847	1,008,736
Bangkok Bureau	100,000	103,000	106,000	109,271	112,551	520,914
Total Direct Labor	3,971,251	4,090,385	4,213,100	4,339,493	4,469,678	21,003,911
Fringe Benefits	992,813	1,022,597	1,053,275	1,084,873	1,117,419	5,270,978
Consultants	1,246,000	1,283,360	1,321,891	1,361,538	1,402,384	6,615,183
Travel & Transportation	184,000	188,520	195,206	201,062	207,094	976,881
Other Direct Costs						
Headquarters	1,615,750	1,670,223	1,926,329	1,894,119	2,043,643	9,640,063
Hong Kong Bureau	172,800	177,776	182,752	188,505	194,263	916,357
Bangkok Bureau	81,000	84,048	86,569	89,167	91,842	433,225
Internal Services	170,000	175,100	180,353	185,764	191,336	902,553
Total - Operating Expenses	6,534,014	6,893,034	7,158,825	7,434,620	7,717,859	45,838,152
Transmission Costs (3)						
Satellite Costs	250,000	257,500	265,225	273,182	281,377	1,327,284
Transmitter Costs	3,185,950	3,188,602	4,015,560	4,136,026	4,250,107	20,095,344
Total - Transmission Costs	4,035,950	4,156,102	4,280,785	4,409,208	4,541,484	21,422,628
Total - Operating and Transmission Costs	12,869,064	13,049,130	13,440,610	13,843,828	14,259,343	67,261,780
Start-Up Costs (4)						
Total	949,545					949,545
Total	13,817,509					13,817,509

BUDGET ASSUMES THAT TRANSMISSION COSTS WILL BE FUNDED THROUGH IBB ENGINEERING, AS IS THE CASE WITH VOA AND RFE/RL.

IF APN HAS TO PAY FULL TRANSMISSIONS COSTS, IT CAN FULFILL ITS COMPLETE CONGRESSIONALLY-MANDATED PROGRAM SCHEDULE IN FY '97, ASSUMING THAT IT OBTAINS \$10 MILLION FROM CONGRESS AS REQUESTED. THE FULL SERVICE WOULD BE POSSIBLE BY THE USE OF NO-YEAR FUNDS FOR FY'97. THE SAME WOULD NOT BE TRUE FOR FY'98 BECAUSE THE NO-YEAR FUNDS WOULD HAVE BEEN EXHAUSTED. THEN, BROADCASTS TO NORTH KOREA, CAMBODIA, AND LAOS WOULD HAVE TO BE ELIMINATED.

IF APN RECEIVES ONLY \$6 MILLION IN NEW OBLIGATION AUTHORITY AS OPPOSED TO THE \$10 MILLION REQUESTED IN FY'97, IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE FOR APN TO CARRY OUT THE MANDATE OF THE INTERNATIONAL BROADCASTING ACT OF 1994. RESOURCES WOULD ONLY BE AVAILABLE TO BROADCAST IN MANDARIN, TIBETAN, BURMESE AND VIETNAMESE. APN WOULD NOT BE ABLE TO BROADCAST TO NORTH KOREA, CAMBODIA AND LAOS.

ASIA PACIFIC NETWORK

FINANCIAL PLAN FY 1997 THRU FY 2001

BUDGET NOTES

- 1/ Expenses increased 3% per annum
- 2/ Proposed Staffing - total of 96 employees
- | | | | | | | | |
|----------------|----|----------------------|----|----------------------|----|------------------|---|
| Administration | 20 | Technical Operations | 12 | Programming Division | 12 | Hong Kong Bureau | 5 |
| | | | | Mandarin Service | 18 | Bangkok Bureau | 3 |
| | | | | Tibetan Service | 6 | | |
| | | | | Burmese Service | 6 | | |
| | | | | Vietnamese Service | 8 | | |
| | | | | North Korea Service | 6 | | |
| | | | | Cambodia Service | 6 | | |
| | | | | Laotian Service | 6 | | |
- 3/ Transmission Costs by language estimated as follows:
- | | |
|------------|-----------|
| Mandarin | 1,314,000 |
| Tibetan | 306,600 |
| Burmese | 248,200 |
| Vietnamese | 584,000 |
| Khmer | 511,000 |
| Korean | 310,250 |
| Leo | 511,000 |
- 4/ Balance of Start-Up related expenses unspent as of September 30, 1996

APN original Congressional mandate required broadcasting to seven (7) Asian countries. An earlier budget indicated broadcasting to China in both Mandarin and Cantonese, but subsequently a decision was made to eliminate Cantonese, because it is no longer essential.

TV Marti's Conversion to UHF

Question 5:

P.L. 104-114 REQUIRED A REPORT ON THE CONVERSION FROM VHF TO UHF FOR TV MARTI. WHEN CAN WE EXPECT TO RECEIVE THIS REPORT?

Answer:

P.L. 104-114 required that the U.S. Information Agency provide Congress with its first status report not later than 45 days after the date of the enactment of this Act, and updates every three months until the conversion is completed.

Director Duffey sent a letter on May 31, 1996 to several members of the House and Senate (including Chairman Gilman, Representatives Hamilton, Berman, Rogers, Mollohan and Senators Helms, Pell, Gregg) providing an interim status report on the implementation of the UHF transmission for TV Marti. The letter is attached.

This letter does refer to a cost and schedule proposal submitted by Martin-Marietta on June 1, 1996. The U.S. Information Agency will address this proposal in its next status report, due to Congress in August 1996.

**United States
Information
Agency**

Washington, D.C. 20547

Office of the Director



USIA

May 31, 1996

The Honorable Benjamin A. Gilman
Chairman
Committee on International Relations
House of Representatives

Dear Mr. Chairman:

This letter serves to provide you with a status report on the implementation of a UHF transmission option for TV Marti, the official U.S. Government broadcast service to Cuba, pursuant to Title I, Section 107 of Public Law 104-114.

On May 6, 1996, a system design review for TV Marti's UHF project was completed. This design review was presented by Martin Marietta Services, Inc., the prime contractor on the UHF project. The system design has been accepted and Martin-Marietta is now moving forward with the system development.

In order to maximize the use of affordable commercial off-the-shelf components, Martin-Marietta will re-engineer the existing VHF system, and redesign and replace existing components. This will ensure that the new UHF system will operate within the size and weight constraints of an aerostat. The re-engineering, redesign, and reconfiguration of these commercial items to meet the aerostat technical constraints have caused delays that will ultimately impact the final delivery schedule.

Under terms of USIA's contract, Martin-Marietta will submit a cost and schedule proposal for fabrication, assembly, testing, installation on the aerostat, and operational testing of the system by June 1, 1996. Our goal is to begin testing the UHF system this fall.

If you need any other information on this matter, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Sincerely,

Joseph Duffay
Director

Farsi Language Broadcasts

Question 6:

LAST YEAR, USIA SCALED BACK FARSI-LANGUAGE BROADCASTS INTO IRAN BY THE VOICE OF AMERICA. I UNDERSTAND THAT EFFORTS HAVE BEEN MADE TO RESTORE THE FARSI BROADCASTS, AND THAT OUR NEW TRANSMITTER IN KUWAIT WILL BE CRUCIAL TO THIS EFFORT. CAN YOU TELL US THE STATUS OF THIS EFFORT?

Answer:

Since VOA's new 600-kilowatt medium wave transmitter began operating last May in Kuwait, Farsi listeners in Iran have responded enthusiastically via telephone call-in programs and a special dial-in service. These two qualitative enhancements were launched by VOA Farsi last year, in the wake of the 1994 schedule and personnel reductions. Listeners have commented on the new strength of VOA's presence throughout Iran made possible by the Kuwait medium wave, and its potency in delivering America's message to a country where information is routinely denied or distorted by the official media.

The Senate has approved \$3 million in FY 97 for VOA program enhancements to countries sponsoring terrorism. The Farsi Service will benefit significantly if this enhancement is approved in conference. Rather than restoring the previously cut half hour daily of Farsi--heard in Iran by a handful of listeners at 2:30 a.m.--VOA, this fall, will begin televising the highly-acclaimed, prime time, hour-long Friday evening radio call-in program to Iran. There are an estimated 250,000 residential or office TV receiver dishes in Iran, and the call-in program inaugurated late last year on radio, draws dozens of call each week.

During the recent Atlanta Olympics, Iranian media sharply criticized the United States as "unfit" to host the centennial Olympiad--particularly when judges awarded victory to an American wrestler in a closely-fought match with an Iranian opponent. VOA's Farsi Service reporter on the scene set the record straight by interviewing Olympic judges from other countries and even Farsi-speaking Iranian witnesses who maintained the decision was fair. VOA Farsi also broadcast news of the defections of Iraqi and Cuban athletes to listeners throughout Iran, almost immediately after these occurred.



VOA Language Broadcast Reductions

Question 7:

I AM INFORMED THAT VOA HAS ALSO CUT BACK ITS BROADCASTING IN AZERI, BULGARIAN, GEORGIAN, PASHTO (AFGHANISTAN), ROMANIAN, RUSSIAN, SLOVAK, AND UZBEK. HAVE ALL OF THESE REDUCTIONS BEEN EFFECTIVELY REPLACED BY OTHER U.S. BROADCASTS? AREN'T THESE COUNTRIES IN WHICH COMMUNICATING THE U.S. PERSPECTIVE MIGHT MAKE A BIG DIFFERENCE DURING THE NEXT FEW YEARS?

Answer:

VOA is the only USG international broadcaster whose mission is to reflect and explain American policies while providing accurate, objective, and comprehensive news of the world, the U.S., and the countries mentioned via direct broadcasts to listeners in those countries. Yet resource reductions since 1994 and international broadcast consolidation under the International Broadcasting Act of the same year have necessitated the cuts you cite.

For example, VOA and RL have eliminated overlap broadcasting in Russian while retaining an around-the-clock service to Russia and the former Soviet republics in that language, 18 hours daily by Radio Liberty specializing in national and local news, and six hours daily by VOA Russian. VOA has retained, rather than gone silent, in Azeri, Bulgarian, Georgian, Romanian, Slovak, and Uzbek for precisely the reason mentioned: the necessity of communicating the U.S. perspective to listeners in those languages. In the case of Pashto to Afghanistan, VOA is the only USG broadcaster in that language.

Broadcasting Board of Governors Staff

Question 8:

WHAT IS THE STAFF OVERLAP OR DUPLICATION BETWEEN THE USIA AND THE BROADCASTING BOARD OF GOVERNORS (BBG)? I UNDERSTAND THAT THE BOARD OF GOVERNORS HAS HIRED ITS OWN CONGRESSIONAL RELATIONS STAFFER, ITS OWN LEGAL COUNSEL, ITS OWN BUDGET OFFICER, AND ITS OWN PROGRAM REVIEW OFFICER. I UNDERSTAND THE BOARD MAY BE PLANNING TO CREATE NEW POSITIONS TO OVERSEE EXISTING ENTITIES, SUCH AS THE OFFICE OF CUBA BROADCASTING AND THE POLICY OFFICE AT THE VOICE OF AMERICA. ORDINARILY, WHEN CONGRESS CREATES A BOARD OF DIRECTORS TO OVERSEE A GOVERNMENT AGENCY, IT EXPECTS THAT THE BOARD WILL RELY ON THE EXISTING ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE RATHER THAN CREATE A PARALLEL STRUCTURE OF ITS OWN. IS IT NECESSARY TO CREATE THESE NEW ADMINISTRATIVE POSITIONS AT A TIME WHEN BUDGET CONSTRAINTS ARE FORCING A DOWNSIZING OF THE BROADCASTING OPERATIONS THEMSELVES?

Answer:

The U.S. International Broadcasting Act of 1994 (P.L. 103-236) was enacted to maximize the quality and cost-effectiveness of U.S. Government-funded non-military international broadcasting. In order to achieve these important goals, the Act created a new Broadcasting Board of Governors (BBG) and endowed it with considerable independence necessary to carry out truly independent oversight functions. The Board's extremely broad mandate includes authorities to direct, supervise, and evaluate the broadcasters, and to serve as a "firewall" to ensure the journalistic integrity necessary for effective broadcasting. The law reflects the Congressional view that the Board cannot rely totally on the employees of the broadcasters to oversee themselves. In order, therefore, to enable the Board of part-time Presidential appointees to carry out its responsibilities, the Act authorizes it "to appoint such staff personnel for the Board as the Board may determine to be necessary."

Key members of Congress have underscored the importance of the Board's authority to hire its own staff in order to perform its duties. For example, Senator Biden, one of the principal architects of the Broadcasting Act, stated the following:

In enacting the U.S. International Broadcasting Act, Congress made clear that the new Broadcasting Board of Governors would have sufficient independence and authority to direct and supervise all broadcasting activities funded by the U.S. Government. It should go without saying that the Board, which will not be full-time, cannot carry out these tasks unless it has sufficient staff personnel to assist.

.....

It is clear that the plain language of the statute leaves it

to the discretion of the Board to determine the size of the staff that it needs to carry out its tasks. (Cong. Rec., July 21, 1994, p. 9435-6)

Senator Biden's views were echoed by Chairperson Olympia Snowe during the Board's confirmation hearing on July 20, 1995.

In making its staff appointments, the Board has carefully considered the intent of the law in light of budget realities. Wherever possible and appropriate, the BBG draws on the expertise and assistance of the IBB and USIA personnel. Considering, however, the magnitude and nature of its responsibilities as defined by the Congress, the Board is convinced that the hiring of full-time dedicated personnel is essential for responsible compliance with the law. The BBG has determined that the current BBG staff of only eight employees, which includes support personnel, is necessary and reasonable for effective and responsible independent supervision of the entire International Broadcasting Bureau, with its various broadcasting elements, as well as the private grantees, RFE/RL, Inc. and Asia Pacific Network.



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